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ABSTRACT

In 1982, the first national conference was held to address the issues facing black administrators in predominantly white postsecondary institutions. This volume contains the conference's keynote addresses as well as the nearly 50 individual papers presented. The papers are divided into the following topical areas: (1) economic retrenchment, Federal cutbacks, and their impact on programs affecting black people; (2) the difficulties experienced by black administrators who must meet simultaneous and often conflicting demands from blacks and whites at their institutions; (3) black mobility in higher education; and (4) organizational contributions to stress among black administrators at white institutions. Appended are the conference schedule, rosters of the National Advisory Committee to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) Association of Black Administrators and of the MIT conference planning committee, and a list of the more than 600 conference participants. (GC)

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PROCEEDINGS

First National Conference

On Issues Facing Black Administrators at Predominantly White Colleges and Universities

1982

Association of Black Administrators
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

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FOREWORD

Paul E. Gray

In June of 1982, M.I.T. had the pleasure to host the First National Conference on Issues Facing Black Administrators at Predominantly White Colleges and Universities. Faculty and administrators from institutions of higher education throughout the country met to discuss the issues that have influenced our educational system in the past, that affect our colleges and universities today, and that pose a challenge, indeed a threat, to our ability to support necessary and important programs in the future.

The conference provided a national forum for the discussion of the current economic and social climate in this country. Presentations, many of which are included in this volume, focused on issues affecting financial aid, staffing, enrollment, support for research, and other major areas of concern to faculty and administrators. Analysis of these issues in the context of the problems faced by black administrators who seek to contribute and participate fully in predominantly white institutions provided keen insight into the priorities and apparent direction of American higher education. Such insight is essential if we are to succeed in reversing the trends that promise to undo the work of decades.

All institutions of higher education will be confronting difficult times in the coming years. If we are to survive this era of economic retrenchment and changing priorities, the educational community will have to pool its talents and resources. The conference on issues facing black administrators at predominantly white colleges and universities took an important step toward building professional networks among black and white colleagues in diverse positions of responsibility in schools throughout the country.

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PREFACE

John B. Turner and Clarence G. Williams

From all indicators the First National Conference on Issues Facing Black Administrators at Predominantly White Colleges and Universities was a major success. The large attendance of black administrators from all over the country to this conference was clear evidence that they felt a serious concern regarding their presence, well-being, and future in higher education. From the late 1960's to the present, the number of black college students has been on an upward trend at predominantly white campuses and, correspondingly the presence of black administrators has had a similar increase. Yet, many black administrators are presently questioning their perceived role of only serving black students and black programs. It has become clear that earnest attention should be given to their entry and mobility in traditional college senior administrative positions in such areas as academic affairs, fiscal affairs, operations and development. In the light of these concerns, we have asked ourselves, what are the strains, anxieties, and hopes of being an administrator who happens to be black in a predominantly white university or college?

It was the deliberation of this question within the Association of Black Administrators at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) that created the idea of a national conference on issues facing black administrators. This group has met regularly over the past seven years to discuss issues affecting black administrators at MIT and to exchange information and perspectives regarding campus programs related to black students. As members of this group participated in outside professional organizations within their respective fields, it became clear to us that black administrators, in general, were very interested in coming together as a group to discuss these critical issues.

In our discussions within and outside MIT, black administrators recognized that a public forum did not currently exist by which common issues, unique to their presence at predominantly white colleges or universities, could be addressed. Among the concerns identified were, (1) upward mobility, (2) interaction with white and black colleagues, (3) professional training, (4) dealing with stress, (5) broadening career alternatives, (6) supervising white staff members, (7) being responsive to the needs of black students, (8) building networks with peers at other institutions, (9) developing effective black faculty/staff organizations on campus, and (10) interacting with predominantly black institutions.

After considerable reflection on these issues, the Association of Black Administrators at MIT chose as the focus for this first conference the black administrator and his or her personal and professional development rather than, for example, highlighting the duties, responsibilities, and functions of a black college administrator.

This forum was nationwide in scope and was designed to attract black administrators from white institutions as well as others who were interested in learning about and discussing the issues and concerns of this group. The goals of the conference were

1) to provide a forum for nationally acclaimed researchers, scholars, and policy makers to address common issues unique to black administrators at predominantly white colleges and universities;

2) to build professional and communication networks with peers

at other institutions;

3) to assist black administrators in career development;

4) to consider the possibility of a national black administrators professional association growing out of the conference; and

5) to publish the proceedings of the conference.

The President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Dr. Paul E. Gray, agreed during the conference's embryonic stage to provide both financial and organizational support. Additional financial support was provided by the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation.

Keynote speakers featured at the conference were leaders in higher education and in public life while workshop sessions included both black and white presenters from predominantly white as well as predominantly black institutions. The conference brought together over 600 participants, almost all of whom were black who represented just about every level of responsibility in higher education. These educators participated fully in all phases of the conference with great vigor and enthusiasm.

In addition to President Gray, the two foundations, and the participants, there were many persons responsible for impelling us from the initial concept to the publication of the proceedings of this historical conference. We are very grateful to the many individuals who worked so diligently to organize this successful forum and to compile the scholarly papers for the proceedings. Particularly, we thank the National Advisory Committee and the Planning Committee of the Association of Black Administrators at MIT for their major contributions to this endeavor (see the Appendix). For the administrative and secretarial assistance, we are indebted to Josephine M. Bartie, Office of the President; Emily-Bliss R. Legassie, Office of the Dean of the Graduate School; Shirley Mullahy, typist; and Tobie Atlas, Editor for the Proceedings. Our deepest appreciation goes to the many other individuals at MIT, too numerous to name, who worked so faithfully to provide the excellent services and positive atmosphere for the participants of the conference.

Finally, sincere thanks go to the keynote speakers, the workshop moderators, and the presenters who developed the papers in this volume. We are all indebted to these professionals for the major role that they played in making the conference so successful and in making this document possible.

The papers in this volume seriously examine issues related to the black administrator that are crucial to the future stability of black presence at our individual colleges or universities. Many provide creative ideas and suggestions on how best to respond to these issues and to face the future in higher education. We believe that this historical document provides a better understanding of the precarious position held by each black administrator at a predominantly white institution and creates a framework for developing steps which will enable such an individual to move into the mainstream of college or university administration. Surely any key administrator, black or white, who is serious about equality of opportunity for black administrators in predominantly white institutions will consider this volume invaluable in addressing the many challenges to higher education during the eighties.

Dr. John B. Turner
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Associate Dean of the Graduate School
Association of Black Administrators
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KEYNOTE ADDRESSES

BLACK ADMINISTRATORS ON WHITE CAMPUSES

Samuel D. Proctor

The black administrator on the white campus is a by-product of the revolution that erupted in the 1960's and that revised the entire landscape of our country. Anyone who was old enough to be aware of the contour of American society before 1960 will remember how different the scene was then from what it is now. In the late 1950's, at the lunch hour in mid-Manhattan, when the skyscrapers would pour their people onto the sidewalks to be scattered among the restaurants and coffee shops, few black faces appeared in that mass. And, then, the few we saw were uniformed messengers, doormen and elevator operators. Today, thousands of young attorneys, accountants, MBA's, computer operators, sales managers, secretaries, engineers and architects may be seen. Television screens rarely showed a black newscaster or a black in a commercial. Today, one can hardly find a 30 minute segment of viewing without the appearance of a black person, either in the news staff or in a commercial. One rarely found black clerks in a major financial institution, but now they are there, everywhere.

If you lived in the South you understood clearly where the wall was that separated your life from the mainstream of the society. The world was divided into two; one white, one black. No one would be surprised today to see 10 black starters in a basketball game between Georgia and South Carolina, or between Duke and Wake Forest. But then, the only black face in the gym was the janitor. On campuses like Rutgers, Cornell, Michigan, Wellesley, MIT and Harvard we saw one black face dart across the campus now and then. On closer examination we found that it was a physician's son, a "big" preacher's daughter, a YMCA secretary's child or an athlete who could play the saxophone, do magic, memorize the Bible, and run a hundred in 9.4 with a cake of ice on his back! Amherst took a half dozen blacks from the best families in the country in a steady procession. Colgate, Williams, Hamilton, Oberlin, Brown, Dartmouth, Bowdoin, Bates, Macalester, Bucknell, Carleton, Franklin and Marshall and a few others saw to it that a black presence continued in evidence. But they could be counted on two hands. So, today if the numbers look weak, before 1960 they were microscopic. The scene was very different.

On the second Saturday in February, 1960, four North Carolina A & T students in Greensboro staged their historic sit-in at the Woolworth's food counter. The outcome was the ultimate destruction of the legal basis for discrimination in public accommodations. Their action and that of Rosa Parks in Montgomery stand apart as two decisive events in changing that landscape. They mobilized the moral resources of the country; they stimulated movement toward a new, more humane national consensus; they put the black issue on the television networks; they stirred up and emboldened the black educated classes; they awakened the churches and labor unions on the question of endemic and entrenched racism; they mirrored the issue before the world; and they generated a plethora of legislation on educational opportunity, equal housing, civil rights, and equal employment that went far beyond the magnitude of the Reconstruction Act a hundred years earlier.

Of course, in moments of sober reflection, we must acknowledge that the NAACP, the Urban League, the black colleges and churches, the labor movement, the philanthropists and other more subtle influences such as Adolf Hitler, and World War II, Mahatma Gandhi, and African and Asian liberation leaders had plowed up the soil and made it fertile for major social change in America as well as in the whole world. The movement in America came to fruition in the same symbiotic way that the decolonization of Asia and Africa came about, with several synergistic functions operating at once. And then, the aroma was in the air and the dark skin people of the planet were intoxicated with the urge toward liberation. No aspect of our common life was overlooked.

But education was central to the struggle. After all, what would Martin Luther King have been without Morehouse, and a liberal Protestant seminary like Crozer, and a throbbing, vigorous, productive bishop "factory" like the Boston University School of Theology? When blacks looked around, after the Emancipation, and found that they had no money, no property, no last names, no respect, no friends and no power, they had only two places to go: one was to school and the other to Jesus. Education and religion, not money and power, became their agents of redemption. Black colleges sprang up in every state. Each denomination made an effort. And a black church was found near every crossroads. Blacks saw themselves caught in the midst of history without credentials, and the only credential they could acquire readily was education. Nevertheless, they were always sustained by a mystical awareness of a transcendent, existential dimension of life above and beyond history, but that invaded history at crucial moments called "the fullness of time." And there was a moral God in this "super-history" who could not be deceived, and who had all power in his hands, and who would make a change in his own time, and in his own way. This was their basis for hope. Yet, they pressed on with education. They prayed as though everything were in God's hands; and they strove as though everything were in their own hands.

It was natural, then, that the revolution of the sixties would finally settle on education, the major path to upward social mobility. But, when black students landed on the white campuses they were like hungry hounds caught in a snow storm. They were lost. The faculties resented them, the administration feared them, the students avoided them, and no one understood them. Hence, the black administrator on the white campus.

On several important grounds we must cease calling this development tokenism. In some instances it may have been merely symbolic to hire black deans, etc., but I lived through it. I was rescued from Nixon by Fred Harrington and made a super-dean at Wisconsin's Madison campus. I had a chic office on the 17th floor of Van Hise Hall and the best secretary anyone could wish for. If I were a token I wish someone had told me. I was seiged by black students with every conceivable problem. My office was as busy as that of a cheap dentist.

The hiring of a black administrator was the most immediate, the most pragmatic, the most urgent and necessary thing that these schools could do, and for the most transparent and practical reasons, namely, "We are caught. We ignored and ostracized blacks. Now, here they come, 'two on a mule.' We don't know what to do! We never knew what to do about this. We never expected that we would have to know what to do, but here they are. Don't just stand there. Do something." Hence, the black administrator.

The question is this: regardless of the motive or the historical antecedents, what is the real function of the black administrators? Do they have an assignment like every other administrator? Are they any different? Does their title indicate what they are supposed to do? Are they paid the same as others? Are they as secure as others? Do they enjoy the same respect as others? Are they expected to "fry like an egg, grow like grass, flow like a river and bounce like a ball" while others are supposed to be plain persons? Does the historical moment, the position of blacks in the society, the efficacy of education for black redemption, or the crisis of Reaganism - or all of the above - give a special definition to the role of the black administrator on the white campus?

I have just ended a semester in which I taught undergraduates for the first time since 1955, 27 years ago. I asked for the experience, and I loved it. But when I finished I had come to know 62 black freshmen and sophomores fairly well. As a result, I would have to say that the most useful and meaningful function for black administrators on white campuses is to become the advocates for black students. They need us. My generation was toughened by segregation, George Wallace, Bilbo and Talmadge. We grew calloused to being called "nigger" and "boy." But our children have had just enough of an open society to be caught in a "No Man's Land," with segregation outlawed on paper but integration resisted by the mores and cultural norms. What we learned to laugh out of our consciousness is pain to them. The fact is that they really do not know how deeply they are resented by so many on these campuses.

We have lived with the myth that prejudice was a cognitive thing that could be debated or voted out of existence. But racial prejudice is a visceral thing, deep in the recesses of the psyche, and the tedious process by which one is relieved of it is simply not available to many whites. One must have enough contact with persons who think and feel beyond stereotypical racial responses to resist the contagion of prejudice. Or, one must have an authentic racial experience that defies the myths, and the biased "research," and the standard black TV roles, and the selective news reporting. And, few have had such authentic racial experiences. Our segregated living has insulated us and rendered us vulnerable to racism. Therefore, our students run smack into this demoralizing and dehumanizing atmosphere. They still feel better eating together in the dining halls everywhere I go.

Then, consider the horror stories that come out of these classes where many professors are incensed and traumatized at anything that looks like wider access to higher education. Thankfully, it has improved by light years since '68-'69. A few months ago one of our senior professors, in a field known not to allow many blacks to graduate, happened to be in a bowling alley with his son. I was there with my son also, except that my son was the captain of the high school bowling team and was good for a blazing streak of five or six strikes in a row anytime. We were assigned the same table at lanes 1 and 2, where the professor seated himself and watched his son. The boy was clearly new at bowling. The professor sat slumped in his seat with his back turned 45° away from me. He never moved. I asked my son if he would teach his son to bowl, and he said he would if approached. I had my lips puckered to make the suggestion, but the father never turned my way. Then, as they were leaving, the father finally touched me on my shoulder and said, "I want to thank you and your son for not smoking and using profanity." They were his only words to me, unsolicted. We had done nothing to suggest to him that we refrained for his sake, or that we ever did either of these. But we were black. He is a top professor. What on earth would happen to black students in his class? They do need us. The kingdom has not come.

Further, let's face it, many of our students have distorted notions about the life of scholarship. The communities from which they come have been, for the most part, rather insular. The demands for impeccable grammatical usage, vocabulary development and wide reading were not as strong as they need to be for rigorous university work. Add to that a society that is racist, and whose values are represented so hypocritically, and whose practices are so oppressive that many young blacks are really schizoid about success. The terms for success, the initiation rites, the posture one must assume are rejected by many of them. Who needs to enter the mainstream with the likes of Bill Simon, Reagan, Mayor Koch, Senator D'Amato, Richard Nixon, Kissinger, and David Stockman? Who needs to be there? This is not their ideal of a caring community. The corporate world that once seemed so disciplined and immune to corruption was caught in the Watergate scandal trying to buy the white House; and later, with Reagan they succeeded. The economy is busted while they make deals that lose jobs at home while they contract their manufacturing out to cheaper labor in Formosa, Singapore, Hong Kong and now Sri Lanka. They could not care less. Students see this and lose their trust. It is not easy for them to stand on tip-toe and lean into the future.

So, they need some of us, who have a longer view to take time with them, to help them to sort things out, to call things by their right names, to point them to goals worthy of their striving. And they will respond. I have a long list of those who have responded. There is nothing like a mature, together, "significant other" standing by to help you to counter the drag on your life hanging on from a deprived community and to show you those prizes that await those who learn to endure. We have a million more in college now than we had in 1962. And we cannot afford the loss of one.

The second claim on the black administrators is for them to become advocates for black faculty and staff. I have a friend in a large university who boasts to me that he, a black senior professor, has no knowledge of who the other blacks are on the campus and that he has no black students in his doctoral program. And the expression on his face says the rest, "I can't risk hob-nobbing with blacks. Their condition may be catching. No blacks are qualified to study under me. They think I am black but that is an optical illusion. I just look black." His raised eyebrows seem to say that everyone should behave in the same way that he is behaving. He is oblivious to the reality of the situation. We cannot compare the situation of blacks in America with any other people anywhere, not with the outcasts of India, the Burakumin of Japan, the Maiories of New Zealand, the Caribbeans of Britain, the French in

Quebec or the native Americans in the United States.

No other group was dragged in chains from its native habitation and dehumanized by 250 years of slavery. More than that, as Leon Higginbotham shows in his book, In The Matter Of Color, a slave master could break a slave's leg, punch holes in his ear, chop off fingers and toes or take his life by hanging without penalty. But if he taught a slave to read he would go to jail. The ultimate offense was to imply that the slave was a person, with a mind.

When DeToqueville visited America in the 1830's he studied the slaves' situation, and he commented that the next revolution in America would be the revolt of the blacks. He saw the gross incongruity between the way slaves were treated and what the human spirit would tolerate.

One need not rehearse the details of the rank discrimination that followed for 150 more years, and the deliberate effort to fix our minds with inferior feelings, to limit our opportunities with inferior education, and to limit our self-image with inferior housing, jobs and denial of access to the good life. What, then, is morally wrong with anyone engaging in the special advocacy of the progress of black faculty and staff? It is the only necessary and decent corollary to the status imposed by the exigencies of history. It is the clear claim of justice.

When I came to Rutgers, 13 years ago, no one told me that I was supposed to go around the campus rounding up black staff and ushering them into graduate study. No one told me that I was supposed to go across the South recruiting black faculty from the black colleges to come to Rutgers for doctoral studies. It seemed to me the only decent thing to do. And I have seen scores of them, marching out of there in flowing crimson doctoral gowns. At this year's commencement I saw the associate dean of the School of Social Work and the associate dean of the nearby medical school marching, and I had to drag them into the program four years ago kicking and screaming!

Advocacy goes even further than that. You must pardon these references, but the most audacious thing I found myself doing was making arrangements with a dentist to repair two front teeth of a young staff person who was not as sensitive as I thought he ought to be about the appearance of his countenance, with two decayed teeth exposed with every smile. And he smiled often. But it is our secret. He took it gracefully and this impediment is removed. All impediments must be removed.

The most serious impediment is not what blacks do or do not do to lift themselves by their own bootstraps, but the systemic resistance, the cultural bias that permeates universities, churches, the White House and the local town council, and the way in which intellectuals so easily abdicate their commitment to objectivity and become so comfortable wallowing in the mire of racist thought and behavior. And in the age of Reagan all such behavior enjoys high levels of respectability and acceptance. Crude, blatant, tribal moves against blacks pass for national policy with simplistic ease, such as requests for tax exemptions for schools that segregate races.

Blacks have moved from 6.4% to 9.2% of the undergraduate enrollment since 1968. That looks good. But they are only 5.3% of graduate students. They are a mere 5.9% of college faculties and less than 1% of university faculties. And every day it gets worse with retrenchment. They need advocates.

One other challenge facing the black administrator on the white campus is to look upon herself/himself as a candidate for something better. One ought never to set fixed limits on a career. Every job should be preparation for something bigger and better, a wider opportunity for service and fulfillment. We saw Cliff Wharton leave Michigan State that looked like the zenith and move into the head of the entire New York State system. We just saw Jewell Cobb leave the deanship of Douglas College to be the president of California State at Fullerton. Sometimes I think that we believe what we have heard about black people. We assume an attitude of diminutive career goals; we become comfortable at about $40,000 a year and a boat and deny ourselves those benefits that higher levels of challenge provide.

Of course, some of us have looked with disdain upon too much tension and stress and we have settled for a more "laid back" assignment. But the power that is always used on us comes from those strata occupied by those who *do* take work home for a final review, after dinner and a little television, and before brandy and "lights out." The ones who determine our fortunes are those who don't mind coming in Saturday mornings for a couple of hours with the "in-box." The policy makers do read three books a month, two papers a day, *Time* everyweek, the whole *New York Times* on Sunday and they know what is in the *Harvard Educational Review* and *Daedalus*. They do *not* know the latest rock artists, the newest dance movement - as a matter of fact, they dance funny! - or even what the latest styles are in dress. You cannot have everything. But if we are ever going to be more than marginal in these schools, the message is clear. There is a summons to hard work and the willingness to take on tough and demanding assignments.

But the rewards are there too. I'll never forget the phone call from Sargent Shriver asking me to leave A & T College's presidency to go to Nigeria to head the Peace Corps. I had not known much about Nigeria and the Peace Corps was brand new. But something told me that things would change for us and that two years in Africa would be movement in the right direction. And when I came back they gave me an Executive V assignment and I kept two and three invitations to consider top jobs on my desk all the time. It was not easy to imagine my wife and two boys going to Africa to find schooling in a crowded situation, and to live on a scarce market with substitutes for almost everything we had grown attached to. But I knew that enormous good could be done and great growth could occur. And it must not have been that bad. We went over with two boys and came back with three! The insights I gained, the friends I made, the new horizon that I saw were all unanticipated.

Likewise, when you look at your job as a significant part of a much longer journey, as one vista of the landscape with much more to be seen, there is incentive to excel at it and to be looked upon as good material for something bigger and better.

Finally, the black administrator on the white campus must serve the same function that inside, privileged blacks have always served. They have been bridge people, with all of the risks and opportunities, the dangers and liabilities that this implies. For, indeed very often the bridge person is expected to carry traffic one way, interpreting to blacks what whites expect of them. These persons, by their very function, exempt themselves from the black ethos and take on a colorless neutrality. They bear tidings to blacks about white norms, and white levels of tolerance, and white demands.

But a good bridge carries traffic both ways. It is bimodal. A good bridge person establishes her or his own identity and that person's very presence is a message. Around such a person whites come to learn to expect the truth, the whole truth. Guilt is not so easily assuaged; prejudice is not regarded as a given; bad statistics get challenged; ethnic jokes are not acceptable; the assassination of the character and reputation of blacks not present is not tolerated; and all forms of demeaning and dehumanizing references to any minority, any weak, powerless, underrepresented group is forbidden.

Moreover, the best bridge people try to keep honest and respectable dialogue open, and they aim at creating an island of genuine community in a sea of alienation and estrangement. This is far from the role of the "funny man" who makes a joke of everything, or the pacifier who buys peace at any price, or the sentimentalist who thrives on pious platitudes about good will. Community calls for reciprocity and mutuality; it is trust that is worthy; it is a recognition of common ground on which all participants can stand with dignity and self-respect. Community is the discovery of a nexus that binds people together in a meaningful, purposeful relationship. It is true community when it covers both the physical as well as the aesthetic and spiritual dimensions of life; it is genuine when it acknowledges the needs of all persons with equality and fairness; it is an abiding and transcendent community when it exceeds the narrow, parochial concerns of race and tribe and embraces the dreams and aspirations of the entire human family.

No legislative assembly can vote such a community into existence; no holy man with an incense pot can command such a community to spring into being; no ruler, no despot, no absolute monarch can issue an edict and order such a community to be formed. In fact, such a community is not a spontaneous thing. We join it one at a time; two men at a football game together, one belongs to the true community and the other does not; two women travelling on a plane together, one is a member, the other a reluctant candidate; twelve people in a room debating an issue of grave importance, and six are members of that deep and profound community loosely strung together on the fragile threads of justice and human worth, and the others are alien to it. Bridge people can be cheap power brokers or insipid influence peddlers; but real bridge people are those who stand at the center of genuine community, who live there body deep everyday, and challenge others to join on the highest and most demanding conditions and with firm commitment.

I have seen black persons on white campuses who had a choice: on the one hand they could have stood like lonely mercenaries guarding the portals to an unknown abode; on the other hand, they could have elected to be grinning, shuffling, uncommitted accommodationists, available anywhere for anything - at anytime - golf, poker, baby-sitting, deep-sea fishing, lotto, scrabble, transcendental meditation, "adult" movies, horseback riding or voting for Ronald Reagan! But, thank God, many took a third choice. They committed their own lives to excellence and integrity; and then they remained open for fellowship with others committed to excellence and integrity. And the next thing you knew, they were standing in lofty places, and they had joined the new aristocracy - not the old blood aristocracy, the accident of birth, or the old aristocracy of class that is conferred anonymously, but the new aristocracy of the mind and of the soul that is earned, and that is available to everyone.

THE NEW WORLD: AIMING FOR THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Richard Gordon Hatcher

Two farmers at a country fair were fascinated by a booth where little celluloid balls bobbed on top of water jets. Customers were offered substantial prizes if they succeeded in shooting any one of the balls off its perch. One of the farmers spent six quarters in a vain effort to pick off one ball. Finally his friend pushed him aside and picked up the rifle.

> "Watch how I do it," he said. He then took a single shot and all six balls disappeared.

As they walked away from the booth, laden with prizes, the unsuccessful one marveled. "How did you ever do it?" he implored.

> "It just took knowing how," explained the winner. "I shot the man working the pump!"

Today, we are living in an era where "know-how" is the cutting edge for success. We are living in an age where independent thought and ability are necessary for one to develop and prosper in America. We are living in a society where knowledge yields respect, praise and admiration, and ignorance inflicts humiliation, misery and ostracism.

What does the 21st century hold for black America? What role will black America play in space exploration, the computer sciences, and in nuclear technology in the 21st century? What will be black America's role in the next two decades when it is predicted that a "100-room hotel will glide effortlessly through space," and that "those who can afford... $5000 for a round-trip ticket...can indulge their fantasies at the edges of man's last frontier?" The answer lies in our "know-how." I am concerned about the future because we will live there.

Whether we speak of a predominantly white or black college, the issue today facing black administrators is guiding students into the 21st century. There is a new world on the horizon. By 1995, the work will be a totally different experience. The world, as we know it, will have been transformed into an experience in which only science will be able to unlock the mysteries of day-to-day survival. Technical and scientific "know-how" will not be just for the elite, but for all people who want to thrive in the new world.

I am told by the experts that black students are attending colleges in record numbers. Our colleges and universities are turning out huge numbers of lawyers, educators and social workers. There was a time when a black educator or lawyer was a novelty, a phenomenon: today, we expect to be greeted by black professionals when we seek educational or legal services. The phenomenon in 1982 is when we don't see blacks in these positions. Where are the black scientists and technicians?

Don't misunderstand me. I am not questioning the significance of law, teaching or sociology. I am myself a lawyer by profession. I believe that these professions were needed to address and meet the challenge of our survival in the 20th century. Black America has certainly won many important human rights battles in the courtroom and in the

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classroom. Many of us would not be sitting here today were it not for those victories. But with the advent of the 21st century steadily staring us in the face, we are mandated to learn new skills. We must master the sciences to compete in the new world.

It seems clear that the direction education must take in the future is crucial to the issue of survival. The American Electronics Association estimates that some 200,000 new jobs will be created for bachelor degree holders in electronics and computer engineering between now and 1985.

The aerospace industry is expected to create 100,000 new jobs by the mid-1980's, and nearly two million jobs by the year 2010. Dr. Robert Richie, chairman of the Board of Computer Sciences, makes the incredible observation that there will be a critical shortage of qualified computer personnel by the end of the decade: 15 million jobs will go unfilled. And yet, if these jobs were to open at this very moment, unemployment among black Americans would reach new heights; we would be a people without an occupation.

*instead of piloting the space shuttles, we would be pumping the fuel.

*instead of navigating the "space hotels," we would be the cooks and the bellboys.

*instead of programming the computers, we would be taking the messages.

Just as we could not participate in America's industrial revolution and the communications revolution, we would now be shut off of the burgeoning technological revolution because we are ill-prepared and untrained. Once more our dream will be denied.

Black people have always had a dream, but too often our dream of freedom, justice and equality for all has been sacrificed to the schemes of the privileged few. In 1875, for example, we went forth to plant the seeds of democracy and justice in post-slavery America. The weeds of state-sanctioned segregation and hooded adolescents in bed sheets quickly overtook those efforts.

In 1900, we went forth proclaiming the 20th as the century of the common man. Instead it became known for lynch mobs and Jim Crow.

In 1921, we hailed Harding's return to normalcy as a renewal of this nation's constitutional pledge. By decade's end, normalcy had bred abnormalcy in a brand-new slum called Harlem.

In 1954, we applauded the supreme court's ruling that a separate society could not be an equal one. Overnight we learned that in theory we might be equal; in practice we remained segregated.

In World War I, World War II, Korea and again in Viet Nam we risked our lives to defend democracy overseas. Upon return our heroism was rewarded by rejection and racism at home.

And in 1967, all of us dreamed that the mountaintop was within our reach. On April 4, 1968, our own Moses, named King, was cut down by an assassin's bullets.

In 1976, Jimmy Carter promised us compassion and understanding. Unfortunately, that's about all we got.

Now comes Ronald Reagan in his state of the union message and in a "draft" release from HUD, like Pontius Pilate before him, calling for a bowl of water with the words "New Federalism" written in blood on its side, and attempts to wash his hands of poor people, old people, young people, sick people, black people and the cities. Reagonomics is the most anti-black program since the infamous Hayes-Tilden compromise of 1877. And he says it's good for us!

For more than a year now, we have both witnessed and participated in this country's most radical economic and social experiment since the New Deal. Its aims were impeccable: lower taxes and lower government spending, reduced inflation, reduced regulations, a stronger defense. But the application of the program was incoherent and the results so far are rather frightening. Even though changes in direction were clearly required, in our consumption and investment patterns, in our runaway social costs, and in our dismal productivity record, the remedy, in some respects, has turned out to be worse than the disease. Interest rates have remained prohibitive while unemployment has soared. Federal deficits have risen higher and higher and the financial structure of states, cities and of entire industries and regions of the country has become dangerously fragile. A dramatic lowering of the inflation rate has indeed been achieved, but it has happened mostly by the creation of a recession and as a result of luck with food and energy prices. How to create growth without inflation remains as elusive as ever.

Many of our most serious chronic problems will continue to deteriorate unless a different government philosophy is applied. Supply-side economics and monetarism both foster the notion that abstract and impersonal market forces can turn our economy around and resolve our many problems. But "hands off" government is not an acceptable or effective policy for troubled times. For the first time since World War II, we have a world-wide economic contraction together with real deflationary forces superimposed on fragile financial structures. Industries, financial institutions and a host of governments find themselves overburdened with debt and without sufficient cash flow to service their obligations, much less to invest in the future. The effects are being felt by millions of individuals, their families, their communities and whole regions of the country.

A "hands off" government cannot revive the economy, keep inflation down, deal with our regional and industrial problems, our chronic poverty and education problems, or reduce interest rates. These objectives can only be achieved by actively involving government in a process of cooperation with business and labor, and with other segments of our society.

Some terribly destabilizing tides are running in this country, regionally, socially, industrially. The danger in relying solely on the market system to provide adjustments is that market systems do not provide leadership to act until it is too late. The automotive industry, both management and the law, waited until Chrysler was effectively bankrupt, the rest of the industry on its knees and 300,000 people laid off, before beginning -- and it is only that -- a new relationship.

New York City lost 500,000 manufacturing jobs, one million taxpayers, had an operating deficit of $1-1/2 billion annually and $6 billion of short term debt before the city's economic system was restructured. And New York is not alone.

During the last decade, Chicago lost 12% of its population, Baltimore 14%, Cleveland 24%, and St. Louis 28%. The proportion of taxpayers moving out was undoubtedly greater.

During the same period, some of the most important American industries were failing badly. American Motors lost $137 million last year. Chrysler and Ford together lost a total of over $1.5 billion. International Harvester and Kaiser Steel lost nearly a half billion dollars each.

The industrial locomotives that have driven this country for the last century are in the throes of a self-eviscerating cycle. Racked by high interest rates and continued weak demand, beset by harsh foreign competition, unable to raise the vast amounts of capital needed to modernize, they live from hand to mouth, short-changing the future in order to survive today. They are affected by deep structural shifts not only in regional prosperity, but in the basic nature of American work.

We are deluding ourselves if we believe this erosion will be limited to our older industries. From computers to microchips, from aircraft to video games, we are going to be subjected to fierce attacks from Japan and elsewhere.

This is not just a "snow belt/sun belt" phenomenon. The state of California now faces a budget deficit estimated by some at $1 billion or more. Many cities in the sun belt suffer fully as much from unemployment, poor housing, poverty and limited economic opportunities as the cities in the northeast and midwest. In an analysis published recently in the New York Times, seven of the nineteen sunbelt cities had worse hardship ratings than New York. The sun belt's golden glow cannot hide the difficulties faced by New Orleans, Miami, Birmingham, Atlanta, and other cities within its midst. Their problems are national.

Existing trends are likely to aggravate rather than attenuate this situation. The result of another decade like the last one will be to divide individual cities and the country as a whole into "have" and "have not" regions, with unpredictable and probably highly unpleasant consequences. Other than eleven energy producing states, every state in this country is facing budgetary difficulties. In these trends is the making of social strife.

At the same time, with much of state and local government in terrible straits, the administration brought forth a proposal for a "New Federalism" that could not be accepted. It was a plan that burdened our budgets with billions of dollars in additional programs without permanent new revenues. Coming on top of proposed federal budget cuts in support for state and local government from $15 billion in fiscal 1981 to $41 billion in fiscal 1985, it was simply too much.

While all of America is suffering, the economic policies of the Reagan administation will have a particularly adverse effect on the black community over the next several years. The key element underpinning the president's revamping of national economic policies is a massive three-year reduction in federal income taxes. Because the tax cut is tilted dramatically toward higher income taxpayers, blacks will receive few if any benefits.

Another basic element in the Reagan revamping of policy is a marked cutback in a wide range of social programs. These include Medicaid, Medicare, food stamps, welfare and public housing assistance. Sizable reductions have also been made in federal aid to college students.

The basic strategy -- as well as the variety of tactical measures -- which define the Reagan approach to economic policy causes a central conclusion to emerge: Reganomics is likely to have a particularly adverse impact on the black community over the next several years.

President Reagan's program for economic recovery was sent to Congress in mid-March, 1981. It contained little of benefit to blacks -- and a great deal that will make them much worse off.

At that time, the budget and tax program was described as "taking from the poor and giving to the rich." This was a fair description, but another has to be added: the Reagan approach "takes from the weak and gives to the powerful." When all of the rhetoric is stripped away, over the next three years, the Reagan budget strategy calls for drastic cuts in federal spending on programs to help the poor while giving sizable tax reductions to those at the top of the income scale. The bulk of the population -- which falls into the middle class -- will get a modest tax reduction, and also lose a small amount of benefits.

In his message to both Congress and the American people when the program was introduced, President Reagan said that the truly needy will be protected from severe budget cuts by a "social safety net" which covers social security payments, Medicare, and veterans' benefits. In fiscal year 1981, the federal government paid $138 billion for social security, $42 billion for Medicare, and $21 billion in veterans' benefits. These three categories amount to $201 billion and represent 30.6% of total outlays of $657.2 billion. In fiscal year 1982, spending on these safety net programs was scheduled to climb to $228 billion and account for nearly one-third of the total budget.

Unfortunately, this social safety net does not stretch under most of the poor and disadvantaged in this country. The programs from which they have benefited the most include Medicaid, food stamps, school lunches, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, low-income energy assistance, supplemental income payments, and housing assistance.

In fiscal year 1981, the federal budget provided around $56 billion for these programs. Under the budget left behind by President Carter, the amount would have risen to $62 billion in 1982. But under the Reagan proposal, spending to help the poor was cut to about $41 billion.

The Reagan proposal to cut spending on benefits for the poor got mixed reactions in Congress. Most republicans and a considerable number of democrats expressed support for a sizable reduction in the federal government budget. However, a number of members had also pledged to defend the gains made by blacks and other disadvantaged groups over the last decade.

In early May, 1981, the United States Congress cut another big hole in the black community's economic safety net.

On Wednesday, May 6, the House of Representatives defeated by a lopsided margin a federal budget proposed by the Congressional Black Caucus. The bill would have protected many of the social and economic programs that benefit the poor and disadvantaged.

The bill would have decreased military spending below the prevailing level. It would have used the savings to increase funds for child nutrition, food stamps, education, job training, and housing assistance. A substantial tax cut was proposed by middle-income Americans. The bill also called for a balanced federal budget by 1984.

The Black Caucus bill was defeated by 356-69 -- with all of the support coming from liberal democrats.

The budget bill finally adopted by the House was offered by Congressman Phil Gramm (a conservative democrat from Texas) and Delbert Latta (a conservative republican from Ohio). President Reagan endorsed the Gramm-Latta bill as a substitute for his own proposal which the House budget committee had rejected.

The margin of victory for the Gramm-Latta Reagan bill was provided by conservative democrats. Most of these Congressmen came from southern and southwestern states. Many of them have large numbers of blacks and other disadvantaged voters in their districts. So, their support for the Reagan budget ceiling was actually a vote against the economic interest of a sizable fraction of their own constituencies.

President Reagan's economic program -- involving budget reductions and tax cuts -- was embodied in the Economic Recovery Tax Act adopted in the summer of 1981. The likely effects of the plan on the black community will be quite negative in the short-run.

Over a three year period, individual income tax rates under the federal tax code will be reduced by 25%. Cuts will occur proportionately in every income bracket. This means that a person who would have been paying $3000 would pay $2,250, a saving of $750 and a person paying $30,000 would pay $22,500, a savings of $7,500. Payments by the second person would be ten times those of the first, so his tax reduction would be ten times larger.

However, persons earning $20,000 or less (a majority of all taxpayers) will actually face a tax increase in 1984. This will be the result after taking into account already scheduled social security tax increases, as well as the effects of inflation, which pushes taxpayers into higher brackets. As a result, taxpayers with incomes under $20,000 will have to pay about $4.5 billion more in federal taxes in 1984. In contrast, those earning more than $20,000 will have tax reductions totaling $16.2 billion in 1984.

About three-quarters of all black taxpayers have incomes below $20,000. So, for the vast majority of blacks, there will be little or no net tax reduction under the Reagan program. And there is a high probability that their taxes will actually increase over the three-year period.

A substantial proportion of the Reagan tax reduction will go to persons in the upper income brackets. In addition, a number of special interest groups will also get sizable tax reductions. For example, those investing in oil and gas properties will get tax cuts totaling $11.7 billion through 1986. Interest exemptions on savings certificates and other investments will amount to $7.6 billion. The reduction in estate taxes will cost the treasury $15.3 billion. The reduction in the maximum tax rate on investment income and the cut in the capital gains tax rate will cost $15.0 billion. Here also, very few black taxpayers will benefit from these special income tax reductions.

On October 1, 1981, President Reagan's safety net snapped, and millions of needy Americans were pushed closer to the swamp of poverty and deprivation. As the federal government's 1982 fiscal year began, a large-scale cutback in federal social programs took effect. Reductions were concentrated in welfare and medical programs, food stamps, unemployment insurance, public service jobs and public housing assistance. In addition, a large number of special purpose programs were consolidated into nine block grants to be administered by the states. These include a variety of day-care and other services for children, help with high energy costs, the education of poor children, and community development programs. This is the so-called "New Federalism."

The welfare program entitled "Aid to Families with Dependent Children" (commonly referred to as AFDC) has suffered one of the biggest cutbacks. In fiscal year 1981, about 3.8 million families received benefits under AFDC. Over one-third of them were black.

The AFDC program cost $7.9 billion in the 1981 year. But in fiscal year 1982, the tightening of the program will result in 408,000 families losing their benefits entirely, and another 279,000 will have their benefits reduced. As a result of these changes, expenditures under AFDC might be cut by $1.2 billion.

The food stamp program will also be reduced noticeably. In 1981, about 7.8 million families (containing 22.6 million people) received food stamps. The program cost the federal government about 11.3 billion -- which represented nearly half of the agriculture department's total budget in fiscal year 1981. The Reagan administration wants to reduce that figure by at least $500 million to no more than $10.8 billion.

In this program, also, eligibility standards have been rewritten, and the new administrative rules have been adopted. As a result, about 875,000 food stamp recipients will be forced out of the program in 1982. This number will include thousands of people in families with working heads who do not earn enough to support every member present.

In addition to cutbacks in social programs, President Reagan has said that government is too big and is committed to reducing the number of federal employees. This has serious implications for black people.

The black community has come to depend much more heavily on the public sector than has been true of whites. For example, in the nation at-large, blacks hold about 9.8% of all jobs in the economy. However, they hold roughly 9.2% of all private sector jobs. In contrast, they hold over 16% of all federal government jobs, and they make up about 13% of state and local government payrolls. Furthermore, public sector employment accounts for about 1/4 of all jobs held by blacks. The corresponding figure is 16% for whites.

Jobs held by blacks on public payrolls bring them much higher incomes than they have traditionally earned in the private sector. Whites also earn more in public employment, but the favorable margin is smaller. For the average black employee, a government position pays about 28% more than the average private sector job.

At state and local government levels, the average job also pays slightly more than in the private sector. For the average black worker, the difference is about 18% compared with only 5% for whites.

The financial advantage of public sector employment for blacks is obvious. But more importantly, blacks have historically encountered less discrimination in the public sector than they have faced in the private job market. Moreover, in the period when racial segregation was mandated by law in the south, many states ran what was essentially a parallel system of public services. The services provided for blacks -- typified by education -- were staffed by black public servants. This practice had the effect of throwing up a protective tariff behind which many black professionals (especially school teachers) found employment opportunities.

With the abolition of mandatory segregation, many of the public sector jobs traditionally held by blacks disappeared. This was illustrated by the marked decline in the number of black public school administrators.

At the same time, with the spread of black political power -- which in turn was stimulated by the Voting Rights Act of 1965 -- blacks found new opportunities in public service. These occurred at the federal, state and local government levels.

But it is now clear that a new era has opened in which the public sector will be shrinking rather than expanding in relationship to the national economy. Given this prospect, it is also clear that blacks will have to look to the private sector for new jobs in the future.

As a direct reflection of the program cutbacks, many federal white collar jobs in some of the large cities will be abolished. Since blacks hold a major fraction of these better paying positions, a significant rise in unemployment can also be expected among black professionals and technical workers and managerial personnel.

As is generally known, blacks are much more dependent on public sector, white collar jobs than is the labor force at-large. For example, in 1978 (the last year for which statistics are available), there were 280,000 blacks holding white collar jobs on the federal payroll. This figure represented 15% of the 1.9 million white collar positions in the federal government. In sharp contrast, in the country at-large, blacks held only 8% of the total number of white collar jobs.

The scheduled reduction in employment in the federal regional centers may mean a loss of 4,000 or 5,000 black-held jobs in New York, and about 1,500 in Chicago. Philadelphia and Atlanta may each see a loss of 1,000 positions. Moreover, President Reagan says he wants to reduce overall federal employment by 90,000-100,000 workers over the next year or so. If he succeeds, another 15,000 to 20,000 blacks will be unemployed.

So, since the federal government has been a major source of white collar employment for blacks, the coming reductions in federal jobs will have a particularly adverse effect on the black middle class. This prospect illustrates again the urgent need for blacks to press for an increasing share of private sector employment. This need is especially strong with respect to greater opportunity in the better paying occupations.

As one looks beyond the current recession, it is clear that the American economy will offer a number of expanding employment opportunities over the rest of this decade. But the expansion will occur in new fields of activity, and to compete successfully, job seekers will have to possess a high degree of technical skills.

The emerging economic environment will bring both opportunities and challenges for blacks. The fastest growing occupations will be rooted in science and technology with a heavy reliance on computers and their application. Traditionally, blacks have been seriously underrepresented in these areas. If blacks are to get a fair share of the new jobs, they will have to accelerate their basic preparation in mathematics and communication skills.

Affirmative action to promote equal employment opportunities for blacks is no longer a basic policy of the federal government. This means that blacks will have to press the fight themselves in the private sector.

The Reagan administration says that it is committed to uphold the law and to defend the civil rights of all Americans -- including blacks. The administration also says that it will fight discrimination in the job market and urge private businesses to expand employment opportunities for those on the margin of the economy.

But at the same time, Reagan officials are laying aside some of the best tools they have to achieve their aims. They have declared themselves to be against quotas, numerical goals, and specific timetables for the hiring of women, blacks and members of other minority groups who are still so poorly represented on the payrolls of many private firms in this country.

The key federal agencies that have the responsibility to enforce the laws and regulations to encourage equal job opportunity are being scaled down. Their budgets and staffs are being cut, and their mandates are being restricted. For example, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance in the Labor Department has been downgraded in status. Moreover, companies doing business with the federal government will no longer have to demonstrate definitive progress in actually hiring minority workers. Instead, they will only have to show that a sincere effort is being made to recruit them.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (often referred to as EEOC) is still in existence, but the scope of its regulations is being restricted. Moreover, EEOC and other agencies concerned with equal job opportunity will have to operate within the overall policy set by the White House. At this stage, that policy is confused and ambivalent, but the bottom line is clear: the Reagan administration is no longer in the front ranks of the campaign for equal job opportunities. Instead, the administration will rely mainly on the good will and commitment of the private sector to provide jobs and occupational mobility.

The de-emphasis of affirmative action by the Reagan administration was reinforced by the Supreme Court of the United States in early April, 1982. In a landmark case, the court struck a harsh blow against the aspirations of women, blacks, and members of other minority groups which still face discrimination in American industry.

In a five to four vote, the Supreme Court held that seniority systems are not necessarily illegal although they may, in fact, result in discrimination on the basis of race or sex. Specifically, the court held that seniority systems established after the Civil Rights Act of 1965 became effective -- and which contain discriminatory features -- cannot be struck down unless the framers of such systems intended to discriminate. This was a major revision in the interpretation of the Civil Rights Act by federal district and appeals courts.

The sluggish economic performance anticipated over the next few years will dampen the expansion of black income. It is estimated that blacks had $141.3 billion in money income in 1981, equal to 7.3% of the total of $1,935.3 billion. In that year, total income rose by 11.1% while that for blacks climbed by 13.1% (from $124.9 billion in 1980). Since the consumer price index rose by 10.3%, real income expanded by about 0.8%.

During 1982, total money income may increase by 7.5% to $2,080.8 billion. After adjusting for inflation (at 5.6%) the gain may amount to 1.9%. The income of the black community might rise by 9.0% to $154.0 billion. At that level, blacks would receive 7.4% of the total money income.

These figures indicate that the short-fall in blacks' share of money income generated in the American economy will widen further. Currently, blacks represent about 11.8% of the country's total population. If they had received the same proportion of total income in 1981, they would have received $228.4 billion, or $87.1 billion more than they actually did. In 1982, blacks' proportionate share would come to around $245.5 billion, an amount roughly $91.6 billion more than they are likely to get.

In addition, we do not benefit fully from the income we do receive. These dollars may wake up in the black community, but they do go to sleep at night in the white community!

Having analyzed the current economic scene, one is tempted to give up in despair. But I believe that would be a mistake. We must find a way to help ourselves. We must find a way to use those resources which we have to get what we need and want!

Ten years ago, more than 10,000 black people gathered in Gary to discuss, plan and debate the political future of black people in America. In part, as a result of that national black political convention, we have moved, over the last decade, from a handful of black elected officials to more than 5,000 in 1982, and to a more significant role in the political process.

Despite these gains in the political area, I believe that the issue today that concerns black people most is economics. I suspect that this was always the case. Therefore, beginning on July 24th and running through July 28th, 1982, a national summit conference on black economic survival and development will be held in Gary.

This conference will bring together some of the finest economic minds in America along with representatives of every sector of the national black community to develop and ratify an economic strategy that will allow us not only to survive in this era of so-called "new realities," but to thrive.

In the motion picture "Network," Howard Beale became known as the angry prophet of television. In one of his nightly shows he revealed that a Middle Eastern business syndicate had bought out the TV network. He asked the American people to write to the

Security Exchange Commission and to the White House to stop the deal. Overnight both the White House and the Security Exchange Commission were flooded with telegrams and letters and the deal was stopped.

The following morning Howard Beale was ushered into the office of the chairman of the board of the corporation which owned the network. He was taken into the board of directors room and seated at the end of a long table which sat forty-eight (48) people. The chairman of the board marched down to the other end, glared down at Howard Beale and said, "You have interfered with the primordial forces of nature. You are one of those people who think that everything is cut and dry; that there are liberals and conservatives, left wing and right wing, communists and capitalists, democrats and republicans and other types of ideologies. You're also one of those people who think that there are nations -- France, England, United States, Canada, Russia, etc. There are no ideologies and there are no nations. The only nations of the world are Exxon, Mobil, General Motors, IBM, Xerox, General Electric and Eastman Kodak. The only ideologies of the world are rubies, pesos, dollars, franks, yen and marks. The world is one intergalactical exchange of money, dollars and economics."

The tragedy is that the chairman's comment to Howard Beale is true. It is a lesson that black people still have not learned. We continue to play in the arena of politics rather than the arena of economics. Black people refuse to understand that the political structure is a by-product of the economic structure and not vice versa.

There are two economic ballparks in America. One is the ballpark in which the government plays. As of this year, it is a 780 billion dollar ballpark. The second ballpark -- much bigger -- is the one played in by the private sector to the tune of approximately four (4) trillion dollars. Government has no money. Only the private marketplace has money. Whatever money the government has (780 billion dollars it will get this year) it will get by taxing the private sector and the production produced in the private sector. What black people have been doing is trying to take a piece of the action the government gets from the private sector and call that economic development.

Black leadership itself must take some lessons in economics to know the difference between what we win in the political arena and what we win in the economic arena. We must continue to push government to accept its role and responsibility to provide for the poor and the needy -- that is food stamps, CETA programs, welfare, etc. But the food stamps, CETA and welfare are not economic development. Economic development is what black people must do themselves to determine their own economic future and get government to create the political climate to allow this development to take place.

An illusion perpetuated in the black community is that black people do not have economic power and that they do not have the ability to build a sound economic base for themselves. Thus, most of the strategies developed by black leadership and white people of goodwill have generally centered around people doing something for black people or government creating a program for black people and calling it economic development. Very few black institutions survive economically on the power of the black community. They survive through the goodwill of white people. This is because we have sold a myth to black people that they do not have the economic power to help determine their own future. This myth must be expunged if economic development is to take place rapidly and positively and with enthusiasm in the black community.

Black people have a total combined income of over 150 billion dollars annually. If black people were a nation, they would be the fourteenth largest nation in the world in terms of income: they would be the ninth largest nation in the world. This 150 billion dollars, properly spent, invested, saved and consumed in the black community, would lay an enormous foundation for the economic development of black people. We must harness what we have before we begin to ask other people to contribute to our own economic development.

As America marches into the 21st century, it will not be comforted by rhetoric. It will be satisfied only with real freedom. Have faith: the future is ours and cannot be denied or taken from us. Progress in America will come in proportion to our willingness to struggle for it.

Ronald Reagan may take away some of our budget, and some of our jobs, but we shall survive and prosper.

If we do our share, make our contribution, hold our heads up high, then America -- our land of the free -- will continue to rise like the sun in the east, until its bright light is so intense, that all who live here and millions of others around the world shall be warmed by its glow.

For as Doctor Du Bois once said, "we still own our own souls" as long as we "neither flinch nor falter but fight and fight again." Today, let us continue to fight for equality.

As Paul of Tarsus told the galatian province, "let us not grow weary in well doing. For in due season, we shall reap, if we do not lose heart."

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[1] Galatians, Chapter 6, Verse 9 (Revised Standard Version).

PART ONE

ECONOMIC RETRENCHMENT, FEDERAL CUTBACKS AND THEIR IMPACT ON BLACK PROBRAMS AND BLACK PEOPLE

OVERVIEW

John B. Turner

Dr. Mary Berry, professor of history and law at Howard University in Washington, DC and former assistant secretary for education in the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, gave an overview of one of the conference's four major topics, "Economic Retrenchment, Federal Cutbacks and Their Impact on Black Programs and Black People," at the general plenary session on Friday, June 25, 1982. Dr. Berry stressed that one of the most important issues for blacks today is "the abandonment of federal support for the economic and social uplift of the poor and those deprived of equal opportunity because of historic and present discrimination," as well as the lack of civil rights enforcement.

Her remarks outlined the problems and concerns that black administrators, faculty, and students have with regard to declining federal and state funds for fellowships and financial aid for students which have an impact on the reduction in black student enrollment as well as the diminishing job opportunities in higher education for faculty and administrators.

These topics were explored in more detail at the six concurrent sessions on the general theme of economic retrenchment and its impact on black people and black programs. The six sub-topics are listed below.

1) An Analysis of U.S. Economic Trends and Their Impact on Black Programs
2) Black Colleges' Relationships to White Colleges as Money Gets Tighter for Student Aid (Will there be shifts in enrollment?)
3) Impact of Declining Federal and State Student Financial Aid on Black Student Enrollment
4) Is There True Institutional Commitment to Black Programs and Personnel?
5) Perspectives of Representatives of State Legislators, Boards of Trustees and State Coordinating Boards
6) The Outlook for Funding from Foundations and Philanthropic Agencies

The conference was fortunate in having some of the most distinguished educators and scholars in the country to discuss the above topics, for this was the first time in a higher education forum these problems and concerns have had a public airing. The effects of a national economic recession on black programs and black people were studied and analyzed thoroughly in these concurrent sessions by economists, community college presidents, historically black college presidents, scholars and researchers in higher education, student financial aid directors, administrators who run programs for black students, members of boards of trustees and of state coordinating boards, and program officers in foundations.

The papers that follow give insight into the problems and concerns that beset black administrators at predominantly white colleges and universities and they provide some strategies and possible solutions in dealing with these concerns. These are difficult times but we are encouraged by the experiences, wisdom and advice of our presenters in this section on economic retrenchment and its impact on black programs and black people.

ECONOMIC RETRENCHMENT, FEDERAL CUTBACKS AND THEIR IMPACT ON BLACK PROGRAMS AND BLACK PEOPLE

Mary F. Berry

One of the most important issues for black faculty, students, and administrators, as for our community and the nation at large today is the abandonment of federal support for the economic and social uplift of the poor and those deprived of equal opportunity because of historic and present discrimination. Black people are disproportionately poor and disproportionately the victims of discrimination; and also, unfortunately, disproportionately do not vote, which has some relationship to the response we get to our needs in the Congress. As we consider the reorientation of our national economy and federal and state budgets and private sector concerns in relation to our problems, we should remember as Santayana said, "Those who forget the past are condemned to repeat it." Sometimes even when we remember we repeat it.

Woodrow Wilson once observed prophetically, "It is only once in a generation that a people can be lifted above material things. That is why conservative government is in the saddle two-thirds of the time." On November 4, 1920, Warren G. Harding, who one senator described as "the best of the second-raters," was elected by a landslide to usher in a conservative era. The folksy, easy-going, amicable Harding brought normalcy and not nostrums, an era of business going its own way comparatively unfettered by serious federal or state interference. Unhindered business development, said Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, would prepare the way for universal prosperity.

Within ten years the most catastrophic collapse in American history had taken place. The dream of the new prosperity became a nightmare. Franklin Roosevelt swept the Republicans from power telling the American people that the Republicans failed with the economy because "their efforts have been cast in the pattern of an outworn tradition." They knew, he said, "only the rules of a generation of self seekers." They had no vision of the need to succor the poor and needy and to realize that government had a responsibility for the entire economic welfare of the country and not just of those who had great material wealth. They had no vision, and when there is no vision the people perish. His election led to a period in our nation's history when such vision and such responsiblity on the part of the government has become expected by the vast majority of Americans.

History is a guide to the present, and those who preach a return to normalcy today, those who feel that returning the money changers to high seats in the temple of our civilization is a restoration of that temple to ancient truths, are prevailing as they did in the 1920's. But also history is a guide to the future, and as their projected safety nets for the poor and needy turn out to be leaky boats in which the people drown, they will be run out of the temple and some other political force will displace them.

I know, of course, no period in history exactly replicates itself. Whatever policy initiatives are pursued in the 1980's and 1990's will be constrained by technological changes and improvements, natural forces and disasters, the imperatives of international political concerns, and scarce or bountiful necessary economic resources.

Of course, it has been successfully argued in the last two years that we have gone too far in the expansion of governmental responsibility for individuals - that the expansion of the New Deal into the Great Society brought too much legislation, regulation, public sector spending, and bad policy intiatives in social areas at the cost of too much inflation, waste, inefficiency in government, and declining productivity among workers. Furthermore, today is not the 1920's or 1930's and inflation has broken down the old class differences that existed in FDR's days. As inflation cuts across class barriers, lo[illegible] socio-economic groups feel that they have been harmed by it and join in wanting to redu[illegible] the very role of government that they thought benefited them.

Considering that much of the black poor remained poor from the New Deal through the Great Society, it is being argued that the only way to advance the cause of the poor in the long run is to cut aid to the poor in the short run -- hurt you now, save you later. The survivors will benefit from the business expansion which will result from withholding the funds they would have had in order to permit business to develop. If the voices of those who perish can be muffled enough and the pain does not continue too long, and ultimately business expands, investors invest instead of consuming, unemployment is reduced, and inflation is reduced, the supply-side policy will be applauded. If not, it will be rejected. The political situation means we are being subjected to its fall-out whether we like it or not and whether it fails or not. But the poor and victims of discrimination are suffering, and blacks, who are disproportionately poor and needy are suffering certainly in the short run from cuts in food stamps, AFDC, Medicaid, education, and other social programs.

Instead of being alive, although an underclass, many will suffer and some may not survive. Others who are only a paycheck or two away from poverty are already slipping into the underclass. This should not surprise us because we should expect whenever suffering exists, blacks will suffer disproportionately. But most black people will survive as they always have.

Black Americans survived and even grew in numbers despite enslavement and a legacy of suppression through every 19th century panic and through the Great Depression. In any oppressive situation, the oppressed either make some accommodation or they die. They are not docile; they simply accept survival over suicide. So having survived the past and present, blacks will survive the future.

Whatever policy initiatives are taken concerning social programs, certain facts are uncontroverted. In the next twenty years significant changes will occur in the composition of America's population. By 1985 the last of the post-World War II baby boom persons will have entered the labor pool. This will result in a decline between 1985 and 1990 in the expansion of the labor force. Even if Reaganomics fails, this could mean a decline in unemployment and even full employment in the 1990's. But a new U.S. Commission on Civil Rights study, Unemployment and Underemployment Among Blacks, Hispanics, and Women, and a 1978 study, Social Indicators of Equality for Minorities and Women, show that however the economy proceeds, blacks will not receive equitable treatment in the work place in gaining employment unless discrimination is ended. In hard times and good times, minority groups often do not receive employment opportunities for which they are qualified.

Whatever prospects black administrators may have -- in the future as in the past -- will be related to the prospects for black students. What are those prospects?

Currently the black high school graduate college-going rate is about that of whites, although the persistent, but decreasing high school drop-out rates reduce the pool of those who are eligible for college. However, labor force projections indicate that market conditions in the 1980's and 1990's will make jobs increasingly difficult to find for all graduates.

These projections, made without considering the economic expansion projected by the Republicans as a result of their economic policy initiatives, indicate that graduates of all races, sexes and ethnics will either not have jobs or accept jobs where they are underemployed. Most blacks in undergraduate colleges and in graduate programs where the numbers are not increasing and, indeed, seem to be declining each year, are still concentrated in education and the social sciences and not in the fields of management, administration, science, and technology where opportunities are expected to increase. Black underrepresentation is most acute in those fields which offer the best opportunities for the future and black representation is most significant in those fields in which prospects are reduced.

Despite the persistence of the gaps, the numbers of students, and especially black students, involved in higher education last year, this year, and in the future will most likely decline because of existing and proposed budget cuts in education and in student aid for the needy in particular. Although, according to the NCES' latest survey, all minority enrollments increased slightly between 1978 and 1980, blacks have the lowest percentage increase among all minorities. (blacks, 7%; Native Americans, 12%; Hispanics, 12%; Asian-Pacific Islanders, 21%.)

Furthermore, because of the pall of Bakke and the budget cuts in graduate and professional education for minority students, there is little possibility that the percentage of black professionals will increase at all in the next decade.

It is in view of these difficult realities concerning the black situation now and projections for the future that we must consider the role and status, present and future, of black administrators and faculty and those of you in this conference must work to help us achieve equity and parity for our future. We know that most black students who are in college today are in two-year colleges. Over 50 percent of first-time black freshmen are still enrolled in two-year institutions, many of which are not in programs that prepare them for technical occupations. Predictions suggest that the tendency for the majority of black students to be enrolled in two-year colleges will continue into the 1980's. This is especially the case given the budget shifts in education student aid.

However, an analysis done by two researchers at the Brookings Institution right before the budget shifts predicted that four-year institutions would aggressively recruit many of the transfer-oriented students to compensate for their own projected enrollment losses. The enrollment losses because of the recession have not taken place, and even if they do, experience teaches us that predominantly white institutions, and especially the most prestigious ones, are unlikely to focus on recruiting more black students even when pressured to do so. They will, instead, accelerate their efforts to recruit older students or learn to manage decline.

When Congress enacted legislation in 1965 which provided funds for special programs for disadvantaged groups, it recognized the imbalance of educational opportunities being offered to certain groups, especially Indians, blacks, and Hispanics. It recognized a federal responsibility to back-stop the primary state educational role to make equal educational opportunity as national policy.

The important thing to remember as an historic fact is that a bipartisan Congress has continually recognized the persistence of the problem of unequal education opportunity, the need for compensatory education for the young, and that we cannot expect to receive an adequate social and economic return from its student financial aid programs without concurrent investment in supportive services. The necessity for a connection in levels of support in student aid and supportive services is made explicit in the education laws.

Congresspersons from both parties have accepted the notion that a national goal for which funding should be provided is achieving access and equity in elementary and higher education. They recognized the importance of educational opportunities to the advancement of a people. Even now they will indicate that they understand that family background and wealth may be more significant factors in advancing the economic futures of individuals than education, but if one does not have family background and wealth, education is all there is. The most important single item in advancing the economic future of most people in this society is work, and education does have some relationship to the kind of work one gets or keeps.

We have heard a great deal about becoming capitalists instead of workers. But only 6% of the black population lives on unearned income -- pensions and social security. The only way for people without capital -- unearned income -- to gain it is to steal it -- participate in the underground economy -- or work. So, the kind of work one can get, the salary, prestige, opportunities for advancement, are critical items.

Although higher education leaders talk about their interest in maintaining diversity, work as staff members in compensatory education programs or as faculty or as administrators has most often resulted for blacks in predominantly white institutions through the pressure of federal civil rights action and through federal budgetary initiatives. Heightened consciousness of the moral necessity for opening professional opportunities for blacks in higher education has motivated only a few institutions to seek and find ways to begin to achieve diversity on their campuses. In postsecondary institutions in the south, the recruitment of black students and black administrators was a direct result of the pressure of the Adams case.

Therefore, if we decrease the numbers and percentages of black students in all but the two-year and predominantly black institutions, and reduce federal civil rights pressure, I predict we will decrease the numbers of black professionals in higher education. If minority professional representation is related to the percentages of various minorities in the student population, Hispanic, Native American, and Asian professionals are more likely than blacks to be hired to serve those more rapidly increasing minority student groups.

The fact of continued racial discrimination means that even if we find a way to educate blacks, we will have a hard time insuring appropriate professional opportunities for students and graduates through targeted affirmative action. We must find a way in our own interests, the overall interests of the group in gaining economic independence rather than dependence, and the interest in demonstrating to students that if they overcome the educational barriers, they can overcome the job discrimination barriers. Affirmative action -- substituting merit standards where none existed previously -- is absolutely essential for our economic advancement as a people. Whether we have Keynesian economics, supply-side economics, Reaganomics, or voodoo economics, minorities will not be equipped to benefit from affirmative action or take present and future jobs, if and when they are available, if we restrict educational opportunities today. We will also ourselves be denied professional opportunities.

And as we focus on the education of black students, we face difficult problems. Budget cuts and shifts in compensatory education threaten the jobs of our teachers and administrators and the education of our students. Budget cuts in higher education threaten jobs of staff in student services, professors, and the education of our students.

Beyond the issue of budgets, we hear calls for excellence and for general education and a core curriculum and begin to embrace them before we realize that they are code words for eliminating minority emphasis in college programs and minority students, who are not, by definition, excellent and whose concerns are obviously not core concerns.

We hear calls that student aid programs should be focused on students most likely to graduate rather than those who are least likely without help to graduate and embrace them foolishly because we do not want to be accused of opposition to merit standards. We are afraid to assert that those least likely to graduate ought to be our first concern. If we help them and they do graduate, society will be saved from unproductive lives and greater social costs in the long run.

In the debate in higher education circles over our country's educational future, we see ourselves shuffled off to equal opportunity ghettoes while others are regarded as being interested in quality. We let ourselves be shuffled off too often instead of saying we are interested in an equal opportunity for a quality education, not just any education.

We hear calls for back-to-basics in elementary and secondary education and then realize that students are not learning how to think or do math or science needed to understand new technology, and that funds are not available for computers and other scientific equipment needed in our schools.

As we try to protect opportunities for students, we have found ourselves having to make the case that the present federal programs work and that the need to support access and equity continues. But we can make the case. We know that black college enrollment increased greatly after the 1965 and 1972 student aid provisions were enacted. The number of black persons 14 to 34 years old enrolled in colleges nearly doubled in the heyday of the programs from 1969 to 1975. As a proportion of all college students 14 to 34 years old, blacks were about 10% in 1979, slightly less than their proportion of the college age population, but a higher percentage than at the beginning of the decade.

In predominantly white institutions, to educate, when it comes to black students, too often means to admit and to flunk out. It should be a matter of national disgrace that black colleges and universities still do the best job of educating black students. The 424,470 students being served by the various student services in higher education in the last fiscal year are only a proportion of the one million-plus students who could benefit from these programs. We know that we need more funds rather than less for elementary and secondary programs. We say we must solve the public education quality problem to end the need for remediation in colleges and universities, but only 40% of those who need Title I type programs get them. Instead what we get are arguments that private schools, which would not even admit many of the students we are concerned about, do the job better. Therefore, tuition tax credits or vouchers which absorb ever greater proportions of the budget that should be going to compensatory education, we are told, would be a good idea.

With the absence of funding, we are likely also to continue in a situation where, as today, many black and poor students do not even know about the federal programs, and are never able to negotiate successfully the procedures to gain access to the funds that are available. Many of the student aid offices at the poorest institutions will remain inadequately staffed to provide appropriate counseling and other information. Of course, if black and poor students are never enrolled in institutions, we will not need more programs for them - or for black professionals to help them.

The other thing that will happen is that if any financial aid at all continues to be available, the numbers of proprietary institutions will increase and more black and poor students will be recruited into them because they bring with them financial aid income for any postsecondary school they attend. These facts about black education are significant because a lack of education will result in continued increased unemployment of blacks, increased crime rates, increased welfare roles, increased commitments to mental institutions, and an increased prison population.

If blacks enter two-year colleges and never graduate or graduate without usable skills or fail to transfer to four-year institutions where they can be educated in the skills necessary for professional employment or to enter graduate and professional schools to increase the representation of blacks in those fields, we will never have the possibility of curing the employment and income gap that separates the black community from the white majority.

A major problem for us in predominantly white higher education is the absence of black faculty and administrators and trustees both in view of their own access to these posts and to provide the expertise rooted in experience and the role-modeling necessary for students. With the exception of increased Jewish and Catholic participation, faculty make-up in all of predominantly white higher education has changed little from its make-up in the nineteenth century. Despite the disproportionate minority enrollment in two-year colleges, minority faculty even there still remain barely visible.

Low minority baccalaureate and graduate enrollments result in fewer minority faculty available to teach in academic institutions, just as the high attrition rates and the lack of transferability of minority students from two-year colleges leads to fewer enrollments in baccalaureate and graduate programs. In addition, fewer minority faculty have been able to assume leadership positions in colleges where faculty expereince is a common qualification.

In turn, the small number of minority administrators and faculty has led to a small pool eligible for college presidencies, where they might help to initiate change and to create an environment in which minorities receive equitable treatment and full opportunity. In addition, the electoral and appointive processes have resulted in few minorities appointed to boards of trustees where they can influence decisions to improve the climate for minority education.

If the college milieu is to be made more conducive to black education and educators in the 1980's, several steps must be taken. We must hold each other accountable, recognizing that the struggle is not about putting black faces in positions of power and influence. Instead, it is about advancing blacks who know why they are there and who recognize their obligation to others and who will not let themselves be used to give credibility to institutional decisions that are harmful to black programs and black people. Black administrators and faculty must form an effective lobbying group within the organizations to which they belong to gain the resources they need to maintain effective programs and to improve and protect their own status and professional advancement. They should also demand major decision-making roles in these organizations beyond involvement in black causes. More emphasis is needed on proposal writing for available funding activities and for participation as readers of proposals in existing funding programs such as those of Title III, The Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education, and The International Education programs.

Proposed federal and state regulations ought to be reviewed and analyzed for their impact on black students in the two- and four-year institutions. Concerted action--legal if necessary, and community-based--utilizing sororities, fraternities, and black social organizations should be used to insist upon breaking the log-jam which prevents easy transfer of successful students from two-year institutions to four-year institutions within the states and leads to attrition of black students in all institutions of higher education. Legal and political efforts at the local level should be directed at strengthening and upgrading recruiting and financial aid offices so that black students can receive their share of grant, loan, and work-study funds. The evidence is that black students do not receive the aid for which many more would qualify than the numbers who currently receive it.

Let the word go forth that we know Pell grants are being severely disrupted while GSL's continue to have a smooth path. Pell grants will be 40% smaller by 1983 than 1981. Only 10% or less of blacks, Hispanics, and Indians receive GSL's.

In addition, we should demand that colleges begin to use life experiences, community services, and prospects for serving underserved communities in addition to usual criteria. In this way, more minority students who will be likely to serve the professional and paraprofessional needs of minority communities can be admitted to these programs in two- and four-year institutions. In addition, these student-based challenges could be used to mount legal challenges to the absence or cutback in black professionals in these institutions. Financial exigency should not be used to perpetuate the "last hired, first fired" syndrome.

Foundations and businesses, under their programs of corporate responsibility, should be asked to fund supportive services and staff for programs targeted on black students in predominantly white institutions. We must find a way to obtain funds as a return of our own taxes from the federal government and from states where they have the fiscal ability for staff and technical assistance to inform students and to help them obtain aid, and for greater resources for special services for helping with the high attrition rates, and greater resources for helping with the drop-out and push-out problems. We must monitor block grants and demand our share. We must help ourselves through our own social organizations.

We must also use the economic power of our $160 billion consumer budget in the black community and the consumer budgets of those who are our allies to demand greater business support of our institutions in their corporate responsibility programs and greater opportunities for blacks to become entrepreneurs in the businesses we utilize. Supply-side economics must not be for white folks only.

Only in these ways can we hope to increase equal opportunity. In order to do this we must not only muster the power we have, but form coalitions with other groups to gain funding for all programs from the public and private sectors. What is needed is a full-scale mobilization of the poor across race and ethnic lines, the aged, black and Hispanic community groups, and women's groups and organizations to help to increase private sector funding for these programs, in addition to placing pressure on politicians and government agencies. We must implement voter registration and voting drives to buttress our political demands.

Only if we do all of these things will we avoid decreasing the numbers and percentages of blacks and the poor who are receiving education. Only if we do all of these things will we increase opportunity for black professionals in higher education and the overall economic resources available to the black community. Otherwise, we will never achieve equity and parity in American society.

We should not despair too much in the present economic and political climate if we remember that the disasters of the late 1920's led to the Roosevelt recovery in the late 1930's. If we cannot change Reagan's policies, we can change Reagan for someone else. But that is in the long run. We cannot afford to lose any generation of our black students because of a lack of support for services they need. We cannot afford to continue to lose ground in professional employment in higher education.

ANALYSIS OF U.S. ECONOMIC TRENDS AND THEIR IMPACT ON BLACK PROGRAMS

Ronald F. Ferguson

Good morning. My name is Ron Ferguson. I am an Assistant Professor of Afro-American Studies at Brandeis University and an MIT alumnus. I will be your moderator this morning. Our two very distinguished panelists are Professor Lester Thurow and Professor Phyllis Wallace, both of MIT. We are going to ask the speakers to go first, after which there should be about 45 minutes for audience discussion.

We will be concerned this morning with current trends in the management and performance of the United States economy. Professor Phyllis Wallace will speak on "Employment, Unemployment and Income Maintenance." Professor Lester Thurow will share his ideas on "Economic Survival in the 1980's." I have been asked to make some opening remarks, and to incorporate into them some discussion of the impact of current economic trends upon programs which aid minorities in institutions of higher education. I will focus my remarks upon the new attitude of the federal government toward members of society who are economically disadvantaged. Among the issues to be considered in this context is the Reagan administration's attitude toward financial aid for low income students in colleges and universities.

The fact that the election of 1980 ushered in a drastic shift in target levels of support for the poor is well known. What may not be so obvious to the general public is that this shift has taken place for primarily ideological reasons -- not because it was necessary to the achievement of so-called supply-side economic objectives. Similarly, proposed cuts in aid to higher education are much more tied to ideology than to supply side economics, *per se*.

Among economists, the phrase "supply-side economics" has a much more general meaning than the simpleminded tax-cut laissez-faire notion promulgated by the Reagan administration. To economists, supply side economics represents a policy perspective which emphasizes the need to affect the behavior of producers as opposed to consumers in order to increase productivity and economic growth.

During the 1970's the economy suffered several severe supply-side jolts. Some of the more well-known and talked about were the oil price surges of 1973 and 1978, unexpected inflation of building material prices, and food shortages. Each contributed to cutbacks in the supply of goods and services produced. The result was simultaneously high levels of unemployment and inflation. Many economists came to the conclusion that the demand-oriented policies so successful during the 1960's could not restore full employment in the 1970's without adding to an already unacceptable level of inflation. Instead, policy should focus on the supply side of the economy. This view was held by economists of all ideological persuasions. What they failed to agree upon was which specific types of supply side policies were most desirable.

The economic policy perspective of the Reagan administration is only one very narrow ideologically and conceptually extreme version of supply-side economics. Its basic premise is that lower taxes and less regulation will lead to increased investment and work effort. Conversely, it embodies the view that public benefit programs destroy incentives while fostering a dependent class of frequently dishonest citizens who refuse to work for a living. Notwithstanding the President's burgeoning collection of anecdotes, scientific evidence attesting to the general validity of these propositions does not exist. To base national economic policy upon them requires a giant leap of faith and a willingness to place the greatest risk of continued hardship upon those at the bottom of the economic ladder. If Reaganomics fails to deliver on its promise of more job opportunities for the poor, rest assured that the administration will find some way to blame that failure on the poor and continue to stand firm against increasing support for social welfare programs.

Given the administration's lip service to the desirability of getting the poor off of welfare and into the labor force, it is curious that cuts in social benefit programs have not been structured in a manner consistent with this objective. Changes in the Food Stamp program and in Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) which went into effect in October 1981 were structured in a manner which reduced recipients' incentives to supplement their earnings. This is directly counter to the professed goals of the Reagan economic program, supply-side economics. It leads one to suspect that perhaps the true objective, based upon the ideology of laissez-faire conservatism, was simply to take the money from the poor and give it back to those who earned it.

Consider the findings of a report issued by the Congressional Budget Office in February 1982. The report tabulated the impact of tax and benefit reductions which went into effect in October 1981. It was found that when the dollar value of benefit reductions was subtracted from tax savings, only families with yearly incomes of less than $10,000 suffered a net decrease in effective income. Though the average net reduction for those households was only $200, parents employed in low-paying jobs and receiving both food stamps and AFDC benefits stood to lose up to 20 percent of their effective incomes. These families will be hit once more in October, 1982, when spending for social programs is to be cut again by several billion dollars.

Cynical distrust of those in need and the self-indulgent morality of laissez-faire conservatism is also affecting federal policy toward higher education. Breaking the link between socio-economic status and access to higher education has been an articulated objective of federal policy over several decades. In 1958, Republican President Dwight Eisenhower requested enactment of the National Defense Education Act. Within the act it was written, "... the security of the nation requires the fullest development of the mental resources and technical skills of its young men and women...This requires programs that will give assurance that no student of ability will be denied an opportunity for higher education because of financial need..."

Twelve years later another Republican President, Richard Nixon, stated, "No qualified student who wants to go to college should be barred by lack of money. That has long been a great American goal; I propose that we achieve it now..." Nixon's call to action lead to legislation creating the Basic Education Opportunity Grant, more commonly called the Pell Grant program. This program now serves over 2.8 million Americans each year with an average award of somewhere under $900. Seventy-three percent of Pell Grant recipients have family incomes of under $15,000 per year; fifty-three percent under $9,000. One-third are black or Hispanic; sixty percent are women. President Jimmy Carter viewed this program and supplementary efforts by his own administration to be sources of great pride. Thus in 1980 he declared, "...we've brought college within the reach of every student in this nation who's qualified for higher education. The idea that lack of money should be no barrier to college education is no longer a dream, it's a reality..."

The election of 1980 brought into office an administration made up of men who had never dreamed this dream, and who took no pride in this reality. Their dream was one of a world in which, as White House policy analyst Robert Carleson puts it, "income belongs to those who earn it." In this view, a college education should be available to anyone who can afford to pay for it. David Stockman made this point bluntly when he told the House Budget Committee "I do not accept the notion that the federal government has an obligation to fund generous grants to anybody who wants to go to college. It seems to me that if people want to go to college bad enough, then there is opportunity and responsibility on their part to finance their way through the best they can." Let me repeat the last sentence: "It seems to me that if people want to go to college bad enough, then there is opportunity and responsibility on their part to finance their way through the best they can."

In line with this philosophy the Reagan administration has proposed drastic cuts in federal funding for financial aid programs. Actual funding levels for fiscal years 1980, 1981, and 1982, and Reagan's proposal for fiscal year 1983 are presented in Table I. The budget for fiscal year 1983 would affect school year 1983-84. Congress has apparently rejected these cuts and is presently formulating less drastic alternatives. Consider for a moment, however, what the impact might have been if the Reagan proposals had been accepted.

Referring to the table you will see that the grand total of Reagan's proposals for school year 1983-84 comes to almost 40 percent less than what was spent in 1981-82. Over the same two year period college costs are expected to rise 15 to 20 percent. If Reagan's 1983 proposals were adopted, the $979 million cut from the Pell Grant program would reduce the eligible student population by approximately one-third, while almost all who remained eligible would have family incomes of less than $14,000; another $353 million would be lost to low income students through abolition of the Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grant and State Student Incentive Grant programs; 250,000 student jobs, amounting to 27% of the number available in 1981-82, would be lost from the College Work-Study Program; all graduate and professional school students would no longer be eligible for the Guaranteed Student Loan Program and would have to seek loans at higher interest rates through a new program which has not been strongly endorsed by prospective private sector lenders. This would leave over 650,000 graduate students who might otherwise use the Guaranteed Student Loan Program without reliable access to affordable loan funds.

It is frightening to imagine how much the Reagan proposals might have diminished the representation of poor and minority students on college and university campuses. I am very happy to report that they have already been rejected by the Congress. Thus, we need not descend immediately into utter despair. At the same time, there is little hope that Congress will do more than refuse to make cuts. Indications are that none of these programs will receive increased funding. In the presence of constantly rising tuition and living expenses, erosion in the progress of the last two decades is seemingly unavoidable. Several bits of evidence suggest that the erosion is already in progress.

College applications from poor and minority students appear to be dropping off, and there is a general shift from private to public institutions. At the end of March, 1982, applications for school year 1982-83 at private colleges and universities were down 2.3 percent relative to one year earlier. Applications to less expensive public institutions were up 1.8 percent. Even at Harvard and Radcliffe, where the total number of applications was unusually high, there were fewer minority applicants than in the past year and fewer applicants whose parents did not attend college. At the Madison Campus of the University of Wisconsin, the number of minority applicants for the incoming freshman class dropped by 16 percent.

These changes in applicant flow may or may not be statistically significant. Further, in none of the cases mentioned is the cause well understood. Considering rising tuitions, high interest rates, financial insecurity, high unemployment, and uncertain prospects for a national economic recovery, there is much room for speculation.

What seems certain, is that for at least the next few years the academic choices of students from middle and lower income families will be significantly restricted by financial considerations. As long as the Reagan administration or one with a similar ideology remains in the White House these restrictions are not likely to be lifted. As the economy recovers and the federal deficit is reduced we may see increased defense spending, and there may be further tax cuts. However, until there is a change in the morality of those who run our federal government, poor families and those in need of help to send their children to college should not expect any miracles.

TABLE I:

FEDERAL FUNDING -- Student Aid Programs (millions of dollars)

PROGRAM	Fiscal Year			
	1980	1981	1982	1983 (proposed)
Pell Grants	2,528	2,346	2,279	1,400
SEOG - Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants	370	370	278	0
SSIG - State Student Incentive Grants	77	77	74	0
GSL - Guaranteed Student Loans	1,609	2,535	2,752	2,485
NDSL - National Direct Student Loans	286	186	179	0
CWS - College Work Study	550	550	528	398
Social Security	1,901	2,440	1,896	1,085
GRAND TOTALS	7,321	8,504	7,986	5,368

SOURCE: Council for Financial Aid to Education
680 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10019 (212/541-4050)

ANALYSIS OF U.S. ECONOMIC TRENDS AND THEIR IMPACT ON BLACK PROGRAMS

Phyllis Wallace

I am not a morning person and I got up early this morning to put these notes together. I propose to read all of them, and I will give up my question and answer period.

The budget resolution was approved by the Congress only last week, therefore I do not have precise numbers for fiscal 1983, but my comments will reflect the sense of direction and trend based on what has happened in the last year in the prolonged debates around the treatment of non-defense expenditures. My focus will be primarily on income security for the non-aged, thus, I will not discuss social security. At the present time there is a very vocal group of constituents on these issues. I will also talk about employment and training. The combination of these two, income security, and jobs and training represent the essence of how individuals sustain their economic status. Frequently in the presentation I will note what the impact is on the black community. I think that it is a shorthand for saying that blacks at the present time are the largest minority group, and that they are disproportionately represented in the economically disadvantaged categories. The discussion is really about the larger classification of people who are poor.

The bottom line is that the large cutbacks in most federal social programs will mean that the black community's relative economic position will be severely weakened, or, as someone noted, this is the day when less is more. It will be weakened first by higher unemployment. Blacks have held proportionately more jobs in the public sector, and especially in those social programs being cut in federal, state, and municipal government, programs in health, housing, employment and training. Blacks will have more than their share of those layoffs and reductions in jobs. Also, in addition, there is severe unemployment of blacks who have been laid off from jobs in the basic manufacturing industries. We know that in the automobile, steel, and rubber industries a sizeable segment of the blue collar workforce is made up of blacks, and many of them now will be permanently laid off from those opportunities. That is, they will not be recalled, so there will be a bleak future for people who by now may be middle-aged and who may not be able to move to the sun belt where there may be opportunities in high-tech industries.

Also, within the black community, of course, all of us are quite familiar with the statistics showing that half of the black youth population is unemployed and many are not even in the labor force. In May, 1982, blacks still experienced unemployment rates that were 2:1 or 3:1 as compared to those for white workers. In the future blacks may face some major employment difficulties because the growth industries probably will be the high-tech industries. Individuals will have to have a college education or be knowledgeable in the computer sciences; thus the future looks pretty grim for blacks. In May, 1982, blacks accounted for 20% of all of those people who were unemployed, although they make up only about 11% of the civilian labor workforce. So, here again, they bear a disproportionate portion of the unemployment.

The black community's relative economic position will be weakened by a widening of job deficits, that is, the difference between blacks as a share of the civilian labor force and the share of all jobs held. If blacks are roughtly 11% of the civilian labor force and they hold less than 10% of all jobs, there is a deficit of perhaps a million jobs, and this deficit will grow. Of course, when we talk about jobs we are really talking about money income, and there will be some moderation in money income, that is, earnings from wages and salaries. The message from the federal budget is that not only will there be a reduction in wages and salaries, but also a reduction in the major transfer payment programs and income maintenance, such as severe cutbacks in Aid to Families with Dependent Children. I would like to highlight what is happening in the employment and training field, what is happening to the Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and make several conclusions which I will admit in advance are more political than they are objective in the economic sense.

The job training program was slashed in the 1983 budget thereby reducing the degree which the government will provide employment and training for the unemployed and the untrained. As many of you may know, since the mid-1960's we have had a major federally funded program in employment and training, initially called the Manpower Development Training Administration (CETA). Last year and again this year enormous slashes were made in the budget for CETA. The 1981 spending figure was $5.6 billion down from $7.9 billion in the last year of the Carter Administration. It was cut to $4.3 billion in 1982, and the Reagan administration proposed a bare $2.4 billion for 1983 while the Congress increased the program to $3 billion. This program is important because the focus is on training people who have not been able to make the transition into private sector jobs, or even good public sector jobs. CETA is to be reauthorized in the fall, and there is an enormous debate under way about consolidating all of the separate titles into block grants and about giving substantial control of the program to private business.

By and large, the people who flow through the CETA programs are what one economist has called the "leftovers," people with deficiencies in skills and in education. They are not perceived by employers in the private sector as the kind of people who they want to hire. Private employers believe that significant funds would have to be spent to train these people to fit into their regular workforce. I think that the effort to convert CETA programs into block grants to states and to ask the private sector to be responsible for the training of these people and responsible for providing jobs for them will fail. It is most unlikely that private sector employers will be able to do more than a token amount in terms of hiring and training these economically disadvantaged people. A major criticism of these programs has been that they did not improve earnings nor even place individuals in good jobs. Although there may be ways to modify and to change the system, the Reagan shift will mean that a large group of economically disadvantaged people will find that they are further removed from the American mainstream.

Now, if we look at the income security programs, large reductions are proposed for those that support people with no or low income, especially the Aid to Families with Dependent Children and the food stamp programs. President Reagan under his so-called "New Federalism" proposes to shift the AFDC program to the states. This program at the present time, or last year, was funded at $8 billion. Numerous negotiations are underway to return AFDC to the states and to swap Medicaid and perhaps other social programs in exchange. There is a concern that if the AFDC program is returned to the states, even after some transitional period, the different states may have different policies and procedures on benefit levels and eligibility.

The AFDC program is a cash assistance program to low income families, usually single parents with dependent children. The states in the past have administered these programs and the federal government has provided most of the money (50 to 77 percent of total cost). In the 1983 budget, Reagan proposed to reduce the AFDC outlays from $8.5 billion in fiscal 1981, to $5.9 billion in fiscal 1983, or a 31% reduction. The administration has cleverly redefined family needs and available income. More people will be excluded from the transfer system. There is a program of the so-called work fare where the recipients of cash assistance would be required to work at especially created jobs in order to receive the assistance. There would be sharp reductions in work related expenses such as child care and transportation. Across the board there is an attempt to look at the AFDC program and to come up with what I call a mean and cruel analysis of what should be done.

From my perspective, I see that AFDC is perceived primarily to be a black program. I think that racism lies really at the heart of the major changes that Washington would like to make in this program. In 1980, 42% of all black families were headed by women compared with 12% for white families headed by women. Blacks account for 30% of all female headed families, up from 21% in 1960. Black women heading families are younger, more than twice as likely to be single, and have more children, lower labor force participation rates, higher unemployment, higher rates of poverty and lower educational levels than their white counterparts. The number of black female heads of families has almost doubled since the 1970's. The most significant increase was in the number of never-marrieds. Some researchers expect that by the end of this decade, half of all black families will be headed by women. What does this mean? Although half of the female heads of families participate in the labor market, many of these women are employed mostly in low-paying, low-skill jobs. Their median income, their earnings, and all other sources of their money income average $7,400 per year, which puts them below the so-called poverty level. Now I might just make the comparison that in black families with both husband and wife working, the combined income is $22,795 a year. Where there is only a male working in a black family, the median income is $12,000, and where there is a female head of the family, the median income is approximately $7,000.

Thus, half of all black female heads of households fell below the poverty line in 1980. These families accounted for 72% of all impoverished black families. Forty-eight percent of the black female headed families received AFDC or other public welfare payments. The increase in the number of black female headed families with limited economic resources becomes a major issue for the black community because nearly half of all black children are in these families.

Now a few concluding remarks. If Mr. Reagan wishes to turn the clock back fifty years, then there should be no sacred cows and no one segment of the population should bear a disproportionate share of the burden. People, who even in the best of times, have not been adequately equipped to deal with market forces are being thrown onto the trash heap. What seems to be unreasonable is the major effort to redefine categories to demonstrate that far from weakening their relative economic position, minorities never had it so good. An example of this appears in a recent publication from the Census Department in Washington redefining the poverty concept. For a number of years we have used money income as a way of indicating whether people fall below the poverty threshold. If we use the money income available to a family in 1979 for the total population, 11% of the total population and 30% of all blacks fell below the poverty threshold. However, if you use the alternative methodology suggested in this census publication, you would factor in "value in-kind," that is non-cash transfers, such as food stamps, school lunches, public housing with subsidized rental housing, Medicare and Medicaid, etc. The poverty rate thus is reduced from 11 to 6 percent for the total population and from 30 to 16 percent for blacks. With a little more time to factor in all kinds of transfer benefits, the statisticians might arrive at a point where they could state that poverty is a state of mind, and that there are no low income households. While the statisticians have devoted so much attention to the low income segment of the population, they have not scrutinized pensions and other fringe benefits that all of us in this room receive, or the tax advantages of home ownership for the more affluent.

I was amazed at a story reported in the June 3rd edition of The Boston Globe. It noted gains in black income reported. Let me read it to you: "New figures show that the income of blacks in this country did not fall in the 1970's but rose faster than did the income of whites. Black/white income reports have generally been in terms of real or inflation adjusted median annual income per family. By this standard, one traditionally used by the Census Bureau, whites gained from 1970-1980, though only barely. Their median family income rose about $180 in constant 1980 dollars to $21,904. Blacks, on the other hand, clearly lost ground: their median income was down $650 to $12,674. But census specialists say that these figures do not take into account the shifts that occurred in the 1970's in family size. Black and white family sizes both declined, but a black family's size declined more. By the resulting bottom line measure of real per capita income, blacks remain behind whites but gained ground in the 1970's. In 1970 according to census figures, per person income of blacks expressed in constant 1980 dollars and including annual cash income, not Medicaid, food stamps and other income benefits, was $3,966. By 1980 that figure had risen to $4,804 or 21%. For whites per capita income in 1970 measured the same way was $7,118. It rose to $8,233 in 1980; it was 16%." 16% is less than 21%, and therefore blacks have gained in terms of the income over the decade. I would say amazing!

I agree with an argument that was developed in the recent Brookings publication, Setting National Priorities. In the 1983 budget, there is considerable tension between two views: (1) the social service and income support programs fulfill necessary responsibilities of the federal government to protect people from economic adversity, and (2) the economic role of the federal government raises questions of how to minimize inefficiencies by maintaining incentives. That is the tension that we have. But it seems to me that the combined changes in income assistance programs and the reduction of employment and training programs would indicate that the poor, the most economically disadvantaged, are being penalized, and blacks will bear the brunt of these changes. I would like to emphasize that much of this burden will be borne by those blacks who are the working poor and who supplement their very low earnings with some public assistance. I close with a quote from another MIT economist who said, "There is something wrong with a society that protects the snail darter, but leaves the poor to fend for itself."

BLACK COLLEGES' RELATIONSHIPS TO WHITE COLLEGES AS MONEY GETS TIGHTER FOR STUDENT AID

Walter L. Smith

It is impossible to discuss this topic without providing some historical background on the relationship between the black and white colleges and universities prior to the financial crunch. The relationships between these institutions do indeed reflect more than the present impact of tight money and declining enrollments. Their history, indeed their growth and development on the American scene, was always one of struggle among these institutions for available financial resources to support institutional growth and student access.

As America began to stretch its wings in its fight and flight for the conquest of space, the National Defense Act of 1957-58 as amended provided the first meaningful financial aid program to students. Of course this does not include aid to World War II and post-war era G.Is. The NDEA program aided millions of young Americans to acquire an education and provided America with its engineers and technical warriors.

As enrollment continued to climb in postsecondary education, it became evident that the black community still suffered from the absence of necessary professionals in American society.

Armed with the Brown vs. Kansas decision of the United States Supreme Court, blacks began to push harder for access to higher educational opportunities, and the educational systems responded.

The first response was oftentimes the development of more segregated black institutions, usually two-year colleges. In the state of Florida an entire system of two-year colleges was established beginning in 1957.[1] Ironically, one might say that two systems were developed. One group of these new colleges was black and the other white. Even during that era the battle for resources was evident. The system responded by developing the new black institutions (there were twelve), for the most part, on the campuses of the historically black high schools. And, as the white institutions flourished and grew, usually on separate campuses and with new facilities, the black colleges struggled for survival.

Finally, the 1964 Civil Rights Act was passed by the Congress of the United States and then was used as a weapon for destruction of the black two-year institutions.

Since in each instance the black and white institutions were developed in common school districts, usually serving several counties, the phase-out of the black colleges took place through a series of mergers. The aftermath of such combinations was the loss of black students and many black professionals who had attended and taught at the black institutions.

By 1967 the last of the twelve black colleges, Gibbs Junior College, St. Petersburg, Florida, was out through merger.[2] Gibbs Junior College, established in 1957, was closed in 1967. With a seconded motion and the stroke of a pen a great little institution, which happened to have enrolled black students, was laid to rest.

With the closure of the black, two-year, public colleges in Florida, a different relationship developed between the black, four-year colleges of Florida (there were four) and the integrated, largely white community colleges of the state. While during the previous ten years the black two-year colleges had funneled their students directly to the black colleges and universities, the integrated institutions did not follow the similar trend.

Competition between the black and white institutions for the top black students began almost immediately. Complicating the process of competition was the emergence on the Florida scene of the predominantly white, but integrated upper division regional institutions. These universities, four in number, were developed as the black two-year institutions were phased out. Unfortunately, the upper division institutions became an instant menace to the growth and development of the four historically black institutions in Florida. Today, this situation has not changed and will be discussed later in this paper.

The *Adams vs Richardson* decision now looms as significant to the black colleges of America as did the *Brown* decision to the black K-12 system of these United States. Today, it is a rare occasion when one finds a historically and presently majority K-12 institution, unless of course, the school district is also predominantly black.

When the *Adams* decision is reviewed in the context of its elusive phraseology of enhancement, unnecessary duplication, facility upgrade, institutional mission, role and scope and cooperative programming the present relationships between black and white colleges and universities come into focus. When the court decision is coupled with the "New Federalism" concept of support for higher education, the relationships between black and white institutions are dealt a double "whammy."

It is fair to say that most of what the relationship will be in the public sector will be dictated for the most part by boards of regents, boards of trustees and state boards of education. The private sector will have a different basic approach toward establishing interinstitutional relationships. However, all colleges and universities will feel the impact of shifting enrollments caused by the decline in federal support to education.

Several kinds of relationships are likely to emerge through the development of new approaches to admission, articulation and recruitment, cooperative programming among institutions, and the pursuit of alumni contributions where persons are graduates of both black and white colleges and universities.

The articulation and recruitment efforts of institutions place black and white colleges on the common scene in pursuit of the top black students, who are not likely to require added resources for compensatory education programs. In addition, both groups are wooing the super athlete in order to enhance their institutions' intercollegiate athletic program. The Title IX push for added expenditures in athletic programs for women complicates matters considerably.

Black athletes, at least at present, continue their domination of the large team sports such as football, basketball and track. The recruitment efforts of institutions often result in name-calling, allegations of irregularities in recruitment and a suggestion that black athletes are not getting a fair shake off the playing field and beyond the eligibility realm of the National Collegiate Athletic Association. This battle is likely to intensify as federal aid is depressed and the pressure for added, non-public dollars to support athletic scholarships becomes evident. Presently, NCAA rules forbid student athletes from getting extra aid which is not available for any other student enrolled at the university or college. In other words, when the student athletes financial assistance package is developed, he/she must not be compensated an additional amount because of participation in sports.

On the horizon and presently being pushed by the larger universities and colleges is the required NCAA 2.0 recruiting rule for certain institutions. The large institutions are demanding that Division I athletes be required to have a 2.3 high school average as well as a representative score on a nationally standardized college entrance examination. Such a move by large, predominantly white institutions has already caused concerns among the historically black colleges and universities. These concerns are likely to be accelerated during the upcoming NCAA Convention.

Also, the battle over television revenue has caused significant strain between the large universities and the small colleges and universities of which the black institutions are a part. The former group through the CFA is attempting to dominate the number of appearances colleges' and universities' football teams have on television, thereby dominating the major television revenue. The latter group is challenging this effort as each small institution struggles to build a stronger, more viable athletic program.

In most institutions, football is the major revenue-generating sport and supports the rest of the school's athletic budget. Therefore, the approximately one half million dollars accruing to teams from a single game telecast provides substantial support for participating institutions.

In systems where comprehensive community colleges are evident, the development of good articulation agreements is imperative. They should be designed cooperatively so that all institutions can reap the benefits from the transfer process.

Probably, the relationship considerations between black and white institutions in this instance are twofold.

In Florida, where 28 predominantly white institutions exist, there is competition between the community colleges and the universities for freshman students. This is particularly critical for the black institutions because they are small and must meet, for the most part, the university system's selective admission requirements.

Since the associate of arts programs in the Florida system are also selective, all institutions are battling fiercely for the top black students. The community colleges and historically and predominantly white universities are seeking to establish and maintain equal education and goals for black students, and the historically and predominantly black institutions are trying to survive, maintain their traditional heritage, and catapult greater numbers of black professionals onto the national scene.

Secondly, once the students enrolled in the community colleges have completed two years of education and have the associate of arts and oftentimes the associate of science degrees conferred, the race for students begins all over again.

However, in this instance, in addition to the institutions which are four year plus graduate studies, the upper division institutions get into the process. Since these universities admit students primarily into the junior year of study, the competition is more fierce for students who are likely to be successful in the university in general and the professional schools and colleges specifically.

The above-mentioned situations produce an indescribable atmosphere in the competition for students. In addition, as black student enrollment increases, there is the demand for black professionals in broad categories. Again, this places the historically black institutions in a constant battle to maintain top professional faculty and staff who have terminal degrees. After all, the predominantly white institutions usually have the ability to add on to the basic salaries of top blacks who are "well-credentialed" with funds which have beencontributed by their foundations. Unfortunately, the foundations at black institutions, if there are foundations, are not sufficiently strong to compete with the contribution of wealthy graduates of the predominantly white institutions. Furthermore, most of the foundation resources at black institutions are restricted for use in specific programs while the white colleges' and universities' foundations usually function with considerable unrestricted dollars to be used as institutions' needs occur.

Probably the most significant single happening which has an impact on the relationships between black and white institutions is the implementation of the Adams decision. While much of the negative impact is perceived as racially motivated, there are some underlying fiscal realities which must be recognized and dealt with appropriately. These fiscal notables are related to federal declines in contributions to state governments and educational institutions, thereby creating financial shortfall in almost every segment of state operations.

As the various states under the jurisdiction of the Adams case wade through mounds of paper looking for mechanisms to either implement the spirit of the decision in part, evade the decision or outrightly defy the court, the institutions are hooked into an ominous duel. This is particularly true where black and white institutions are in the same system and governed by identical boards.

As resources are provided for the development of new programs and facilities, several issues of conflict evolve. Where should the programs go? Where should the facilities be constructed? Which institutions are likely to have the greatest increase in minority enrollment? Which institutions should or should not have doctoral programs? Where is the federal government likely to place its resources? An even greater sensitivity to institutional relationships is evident in areas where two institutions (one black and one white) exist in the same city or within close proximity. In this instance the constant call for phasing out the black institution or merging the two is evident. Both concepts are unacceptable to the black community while either process would likely satisfy large numbers of white citizens. Such a climate results in constant bickering, clandestine meetings and outright opposition of one institution toward the other.

There are exceptions, of course. There is evidence of institutions working together, sharing programs, faculty and facilities. Such an example are the Florida A&M University/ Florida State University programs in journalism. Each institution has a particular strength and said talent is used at each institution for the benefit of both student bodies. In addition, these two institutions have been organizing a joint program in the engineering sciences. The first two undergraduate programs in civil and electrical engineering will begin in September, 1982, and Florida A&M University/Florida State University Institute of Engineering is expected to grow until graduate degrees are added. The operation and organization of this new joint venture is expected to increase significantly the number of black professional engineers on the American and world scene.

The development of the programs mentioned above is not meant to imply that joint ventures will produce great faculty and student relationships. There are always the discussions of which institutions provide the greatest support to the joint program whose students are the strongest, whose faculty is most productive, who should manage the budget, which institution should award the degree/s and finally, on which campus should the permanent facility be placed. All of these discussions are legitimate concerns and should be facilitated by sound educational management principles with the exclusion of political intervention.

It is imperative that presidents of institutions set the tone of relationships to insure positive interactions which are productive for faculty, staff and students. At the same time, institutions, regardless of race, can be strengthened through cooperative efforts if relationships are perceived to be positive.

In reviewing the status of relationships between black colleges and white colleges as money gets tight for student aid, one must take into account the broad spectrum of support systems. Since student support is received from the federal government, state government, business, private foundations, alumni and friends, it is necessary for all segments to recognize that suppression of student support for postsecondary education is likely to place our nation in a state of regression in the production of needed professionals. More significantly, of course, is the likelihood that low student support will lead to the loss of certain key institutions in America and we might not rebound as easily as our snap back from space obscurity after "Sputnik."

Finally, since many of our institutional relationships are based on the success or failure of the Higher Education Act of 1965, we might want to review that segment of the act which provides financial assistance to students later during the 1982-83 academic year. The black-white institutional relationships could become more positive and maintain that posture if the battle for student enrollment is not necessary. However, should we find black students and the poor excluded from access to higher education because of the financial ax, positive black-white institutional relationships might sing a swan song for all society.

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[1] Community College Council, The Community College in Florida's Future: Tallahassee, State Department of Education, 1957.

[2] Pinellas County Board of Public Instruction, Official Minutes, March 16, 1967.

IMPACT OF DECLINING FEDERAL AND STATE STUDENT FINANCIAL AID ON BLACK ENROLLMENT

Kenneth R. Wadleigh

We are all acutely aware of the actual and proposed cutbacks in all forms of federal and state student financial support programs - Basic Educational Opportunity Grants (BEOGS), Supplementary Educational Opportunity Grants (SEOGS), College Work Study Program (CWSP), Graduate Student Loan Program (GSLP), Graduate and Professional Opportunity Program (GPOP), etc. etc. - all of which are (or were) intended to assist students achieve access to higher education by helping them meet tuition and living expenses. These programs address the "supply side," if you will, of students' financial problems. Some of us, however, may not be as cognizant of other forces which are driving up what I might characterize as the "demand side" of the students' dilemma, at rates which are, in many cases, larger than inflationary indices.

I thought therefore that I might take just a few minutes to set this other side of the students' dilemma, and then lead into the panel discussions by a rather personalized account of the development of federal/institutional policies governing student financial aid over the last several decades.

The impact of inflation on living costs needs little elucidation for this audience, each of whom is probably engaged in a daily struggle in his or her own household. Thus I will focus on the impact of inflation on tuition.

Tuition is almost always referred to as a "cost of education." It is true that a student perceives this "demand" as a cost, but, in fact, it is a "price." Tuition is the price which the college or university sees fit to demand of its students, but, in almost all instances, the cost of each student's education to the college or university is higher than the price. In state-supported institutions, the price is often several times the cost, the difference being made up primarily by the sponsoring state from tax and other revenues. At private institutions, costs may not be much different from costs at public institutions, but the prices are usually considerably higher because private institutions must depend on endowment income and gifts (not tax revenues) to make up the difference between the price (tuition) and the cost.

At MIT, for example, the cost - the academic operating budget per student-year - is just about twice the price-tuition. That is, each student automatically receives a "hidden scholarship" about equal to tuition. At state institutions, this "hidden scholarship" is most often a multiple of several times tuition.

Now I come to the point I wanted to keep before us. For private institutions, the annual income from endowment and gift stream is not keeping pace with increasing costs - despite severe budget pruning measures. Thus, a higher fraction of total costs is being met by increasing the price; that is, tuition is typically being increased more rapidly than inflation. In public institutions, the equivalent dilemma is being forced by relative cutbacks in tax-based support. Here again, the price - tuition - is rising faster than inflation.

Thus, the "double-whammy" we are facing - more accurately, our poor students are facing - is the fact that the financial "demands" placed upon them are increasing rapidly while the financial "supplies" available to them are at best increasing far less rapidly and more probably decreasing.

Now, if I may turn to a brief and rather personal account to describe one man's view of the evolution of this nation's policies governing student financial support.

I was graduated from Clifton N.J. High School in 1939 (for those of you who need calibration - that's between Passaic and Paterson and in turn near Newark). The situation in that area then was not all that different in many ways from it is today.

My family was broke. My father had died in 1929; my mother lost our house and everything else. I was considered lucky to get through high school and to have a job - 40 hours per week on the night shift packing crackers - for $13.52 per week.

I wanted to be an engineer but there was no way I could come up with the money even for the state university (Rutgers). I thought I might be able to commute to Hoboken (to Stevens) but the tuition was too high. There were no government loans or scholarships that I was aware of.

Through a series of coincidences I was able to win a local competitive scholarship from the Forstmann Woolen Company (now defunct) and a regional scholarship for one year from MIT. By living in a cooperative house at MIT ($9 per week for room and board), by working like heck, and by making full use of MIT's Technology Loan Fund (the model college loan fund developed by Karl Taylor Compton) and by continuing to merit MIT scholarship support, I made it to graduation in 1943, graduating with what was an enormous indebtedness at the time.

After three years in the Navy, I returned to get an advanced degree with the intention of getting out quickly and of making money. The only way to eat was to teach: I did - and, as a result, I never did get out (nor did I ever make much money).

But what a difference World War II made. The first federal effort to ensure broad access of qualified persons to higher education without regard to financial capability was born: the G.I. Bill.

It helped me get my doctorate. It made possible the acquisition of bachelor's and advanced degrees to kids who would never have had the opportunity under pre-World War II conditions. Indeed, the G.I. Bill expanded greatly young Americans' access to higher education and thus their upward mobility. I taught many of those veterans older than myself; they were motivated, they were dedicated, they did well and they have since, for the most part, contributed positively to our society.

Were there many minorities in those groups? Were there many women? No to both questions. But my view is that the G.I. Bill set the stage for the next step in moving closer to true fulfillment of the American dream. Simply put, I don't believe liberal government leaders would have taken civil rights initiatives and would have had the support of the body politic in taking those initiatives if many of the leaders and vast numbers of the voters had not, from their own first-hand exposure, come to recognize the social and economic importance of education on the one hand, and also seen at first hand, through their new geographical mobility, the awful disparities our society was perpetuating. I say this as a personal testimony of conversion, if you will, but it is a testimony which in one way or another is made by many majority folks of my general age group who went through this war and immediate post-war experience.

As a young faculty member at MIT, I worked hard to influence what I now recognize to have been a remarkably forward-looking older faculty and administration, as we moved out of the veteran's era to construct a completely different form of admissions policy that had existed a form which has come to be known as "aid-blind." That is, "we'll make our admissions decisions without regard to your financial needs: we'll provide jobs, loans, and scholarship support to fill your need."

But as late as the early 60's we and other institutions were still not completely "clean" in my view in implementing this aid-blind policy. We were not clean because while we met "need" we varied the ratio of loans and jobs to scholarship money to meet that need inversely to each needy student's perceived "quality." The kids who could turn in high grades and were judged of high "personal" indices got more of their aid in scholarships than the kids who could not quite hack it at that level. The latter had to take more loans and more jobs.

This situation was tough enough on the majority males: it was doubly tough on minorities, and, for different reasons, women at MIT. We finally managed by the mid-60's to get the so-called equity system which is still in operation today. I won't elaborate, but under this policy it is the neediest kids who get the most scholarship money.

At the federal level, the G.I. Bill gave way to the National Defense Education Programs, again as the federal government reacted to Soviet threats and recognized the ever-increasing importance to the national welfare of a well-educated population. Later the word "Defense" became "Direct" and, as time rolled on, together, the federal government and the universities constructed an array of student support programs. These programs signaled both the government's and the universities' commitment to the following:

1) The imperative of a well-educated population to foster our society's well-being;

2) The recognition that the capacity to benefit from higher education and thus to contribute to the society is independent of race, creed, color, sex, and family financial status;

3) That, therefore, open access to both public and private institutions must be essentially guaranteed to all applicants who otherwise qualify; and finally,

4) That special programs are needed to provide the leg-up to those in certain segments of our society who have suffered significant educational deprivation in the past.

Many would argue that we never did get to the halycon state implied above during the last decade. They are correct; but we were a darned sight closer to it in 1979 than we were when this individual graduated from Clifton H.S. in 1939.

The process of getting there was rough and tumble, sometimes helter skelter, and full of the grinding of individual axes for mixed motivation. But the median vector was pointed in the right direction and all debate was characterized by the implicit understanding and general acceptance of the four criteria I just enumerated.

And now here we are! Without any significant debate of these fundamental precepts, we find our Congress and executive leadership dismantling the whole apparatus in the guise of "achieving a responsible federal budget."

Responsible my foot! - or other part of my anatomy. Irresponsible and short-sighted, are kind adjectives. Dangerous or murderous for the American society are more accurate.

And - in the institutional world - here we are also! Some institutions have already announced their abandonment of aid-blind admissions and their return to admit-deny. I'll wager many more will follow.

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I'm scared! In many ways I'm more scared of these situations than I am of nuclear proliferation. I say this because we seem unable to engage the body politic or our political leadership in any significant discussion which contemplates in any realistic way what portends if we revert to a situation where many institutions of higher education are allowed or forced to go down the drain and where those which remain will be available only to those who can pay and the handful of others who can scramble for the small amount of private support which may remain.

Fortunately, many of us tend to work at our best levels when we're scared. Since I know the panel members share my fright - and I suspect you in the audience do - let's try to take advantage of this fright.

IMPACT OF DECLINING FEDERAL AND STATE STUDENT FINANCIAL AID ON BLACK STUDENT ENROLLMENT

Jimmy L. Ross

Observation of postsecondary education over the past two decades clearly reveals a close relationship between black student enrollment and the availability of financial aid. Assessment of the present mood in Washington and some states to reduce support for student aid, and the resulting impact on black students, can best be achieved by a brief review of the history behind issues confronting the nation. Attention will then be focused on current issues in financial aid and the future of black students.

The decades of the 1960's and 1970's can be characterized as an era when America tested a novel principle of equal access to postsecondary education. Passage of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 gave rise to a national policy, unprecedented in magnitude and scope, to provide opportunities for postsecondary training to all who desired and could benefit from the experience. This endeavor to educate the masses received further impetus from other developments throughout the 1960's and early 1970's. An important aspect of the National Defense Education Act that stimulated increased college enrollment was provision for the National Defense Student Loan (N.D.S.L.) Program. In the language of legislation that authorized the N.D.S.L. Program, the U.S. Congress, in 1958, initiated a public policy that profoundly influenced developments in financial aid and college enrollment for the next two decades.

In part, the legislation stated, the National Defense Education Act of 1958 affirms that we must increase our efforts to identify and educate more of the talent of our nation. This requires programs that will give assurance that no student of ability will be denied an opportunity for higher education because of financial need.

Through provision for long-term, low interest loans for students who lacked sufficient resources to pay for their educations, this landmark legislation represented a cornerstone for later public policy developments for higher education. Increasingly, the federal government assumed a leadership role in financing and expanding opportunities for postsecondary education.

Although considerable progress was made during the period, congressional legislation and the national climate of the early 1960's addressed attention to educational opportunity in broad and very general ways. By the mid 1960's, however, there was a social movement afoot in America that generated a new mood toward equal educational opportunities for persons whose social, racial, economic, educational, or family backgrounds placed them at a disadvantage in seeking postsecondary education. The national climate during this period was substantially influenced by movements which called on America to live up to its promise of equality of opportunity in all aspects of life. The civil rights activity spearheaded by Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, and Stokley Carmichael, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the "War on Poverty," stemming from the Economic Opportunity Act of 1965, served as important developments that generated a new spirit toward blacks and other minorities.

As an outcome, the Higher Education Act of 1965 dealt specifically with the need to improve higher education opportunities for persons from minority backgrounds and others who were least able to pay. By this time, many states and institutions had also initiated scholarship and grant programs that were designed to expand opportunities for postsecondary education. Based on the premise of a federal, state, and institutional partnership, both financial aid opportunities and black student enrollment increased substantially. Throughout the development of the partnership, there was a strong tendency of states and institutions to follow the federal lead in student aid programs. In matters of purpose, philosophy, and eligibility criteria, state and institutional programs frequently mirrored the federal programs.

In conjunction with the federally sponsored TRIO Programs (Upward Bound, Talent Search, and Special Services) and institutional programs for minority recruitment and supportive services, access to financial aid programs during this period had a resolute influence on increasing black and minority enrollment in postsecondary institutions. A brief comparison of minority student enrollment and the availability of financial aid for college students firmly established the close relationship between the two variables.

Before the advent of federal financial aid and other student assistance programs, black and other minority students were practically nonexistent in postsecondary enrollment figures. Even though the first U.S. colonial college was founded in 1636, it was not until 190 years later, 1826, that the first black student received a college degree. By 1860, 224 years after Harvard was founded, there had been only 28 blacks who had graduated from American colleges. While the historical picture for blacks reflects gross underrepresentation, the level of participation by Latinos, Native Americans, and other deprived minorities was even more dismal. As recently as the spring of 1960, blacks constituted 4.9 percent of total college enrollment while Latinos, Native Americans, and other non-white minorities accounted for a mere 1.5 percent. Between 1960 and 1973, the number of black students in U.S. colleges increased by approximately 540,000, a phenomenal 370 percent increase. Latinos and Native Americans also increased in numbers. This growth in minority enrollment followed closely the increase in federal, state, and institutional financial aid.

In 1963, the federal government made available $146,000,000, which assisted some 255,000 students nationally. By 1968, however, the federal support had grown to approximately $500,000,000, which assisted 1,250,000 students. During the same five-year period, total college enrollment increased by 45 percent. The amount of federal support doubled from 1972 to 1974 and again college enrollment increased substantially. Between 1970 and 1980, total enrollment in postsecondary education increased from 8,581,000 to 12,097,000 students, a 41 percent increase. By 1981, blacks approximated 1.1 million of the 12,097,000 students enrolled in postsecondary education, 12 percent of the total. Thus, the trend of increased financial aid and increases in enrollment continued. Experience of the past two decades, therefore, clearly reflects the important role that financial aid opportunities play in black student enrollment.

The answer, then, to the question of what impact declining federal and state financial aid will have on black enrollment, is quite simple. Black enrollment will decline proportionate to the decline in federal and state financial aid, even to the point of extinction.

Although the prognosis is easy, cures for the ills that presently confront financial aid and black student enrollment are not as simple. Current issues that threaten financial aid and black student enrollment are numerous and complex.

Issues confronting financial aid and postsecondary education generally reflect a period of grave uncertainty and instability in public policy concerning higher education. The Reagan administration, the Congress, and the nation generally are wavering on public policy issues that have served as the cornerstone for financial aid programs and governmental support for the past 20 years. The climate of conservatism, economic and unemployment problems, efforts to increase military spending, and an array of domestic problems are weakening the original foundation of support for student aid and education. During such a period, philosophies shift, rationales change, and goals, objectives, and priorities become confused. A domino effect of negative attitudes results throughout the ranks of the populace. Proposed financial aid reductions, frequently defended by accusations of fraud and abuse, high loan default rates, greater ability of families to pay for education, poor academic progress, and similar ills have caused the financial aid programs to come under increasing attack in all quarters.

Presently, many states are in the process of following the federal lead of tightening eligibility standards, shifting emphasis, and limiting funding for student aid programs. Institutions can, likewise, be expected to follow with a series of changes in philosophies, eligibility standards, and procedures that, collectively, will have a profound impact on the future financial aid picture for black students.

It is important to realize that even before the present onslaught to drastically reduce support for aid programs, students and their families have experienced increasing difficulty in financing educational costs.

Since 1978, the only new resource available to fill the widening gap between college cost and the decreasing abilities of families to pay has been increased borrowing. Gift aid programs and student employment opportunities have remained relatively constant while educational loans have skyrocketed at an epidemic rate. For example, the total amount borrowed by students through the Guaranteed Student Loan (G.S.L.) Program increased by more than 100 percent between 1978-79 and 1979-80. Growth in this and other loan programs has continued to escalate at a frightening rate. Black and minority students, and others who are least able to pay, have increasingly assumed unmanageable educational debts in recent years. Presently, there are approximately $20 billion in outstanding loans under the G.S.L. program. It is estimated that the figure could be up to $40 billion in 2 to 3 years. Therefore, aside from concerns about decreasing financial aid resources, the increasing educational indebtedness incurred by students who are least able to pay is, in itself, reason for grave concern.

Basically, the problem reflects a societal dilemma of who is willing to pay the bill. It was a noble endeavor in 1958 when the U.S. Congress established educational opportunity as a national goal and commitment. The resulting federal, state, and institutional partnership combined with family efforts, proved to be a workable concept for improving educational opportunities for the masses. The cost, however, and issues surrounding who should pay what part of the bill, and under what conditions, have evolved as major problems over time.

At all levels, problems of financing educational opportunities are increasing. Federal, state, and institutional officials are constantly grappling with issues of rapidly rising costs, decreasing abilities of families to pay those costs, and insufficient financial aid resources to fill the financial gap. Students and their families readily attest to the difficulty they are experiencing. The enrollment growth in postsecondary enrollment over time and the rising expenses associated with this enterprise have resulted in an aggregate cost that no one can quite decide how to handle. The result is that at federal, state, and institutional levels, major decisions are being made that could have a profound impact on black student enrollment in the future. As eligibility requirements shift, academic progress standards tighten, and goals and objectives take a conservative turn, black student enrollment will suffer disproportionate to student enrollment as a whole. By shifts in public policy, blacks are on the verge of being defined out of postsecondary education. As far as educational opportunity is concerned, a recurrence of the post-Reconstruction era of 1860 is very possible for blacks and other minorities if the present trend continues.

A major challenge for black administrators, and others who share a vested interest in educational opportunities for minorities and disadvantaged students, is to provide a concerted leadership and influence in the future direction of aid programs and related decisions. It is imperative that efforts be exerted at all levels - federal, state, and institutional - in order to assure that, as a matter of public policy, provisions for adequate financial aid opportunities continue for students who are least able to pay. A clear and convincing message must likewise be conveyed at all decision-making levels that achieving equality in educational opportunities is not a short-term endeavor. Realization of the goals this nation undertook in 1958 will require long-term strategies and a major financial investment. The gap between educational opportunities for black and non-black students resulting over a 300-year period cannot possibly be eradicated in two decades. Thus, it is essential that financial aid programs, in philosophy, purposes, and eligibility criteria, continue to be targeted to assure black student enrollment in postsecondary education. Shifts in philosophies, purposes, and eligibility requirements must not be used to define blacks out of the picture.

Student financial aid touches all aspects of postsecondary education in America. It reaches into the very core of a system which determines who gets ahead in life, who is allowed to keep pace, and who falls by the wayside.

If educational opportunities for black students are to survive the scrutiny of changing philosophies, fiscal retrenchments, and shifting emphasis, it will be the result of black administrators and other concerned individuals conveying a clear and convincing message at all decision-making levels. The U.S. Congress, federal and state officials, college and university administrators, and the whole network of individuals who will be involved in charting the future of financial aid need to be convinced of the desirability of protecting opportunities for postsecondary education for those to whom it has been least available. While equally embracing quality and equality, black administrators must play a strong leadership role in addressing issues and decisions that will dictate the future of financial aid programs.

THE IMPACT OF DECLINING FEDERAL FINANCIAL AID ON BLACK STUDENT ENROLLMENT

Meldon S. Hollis

It is only fair to state from the outset that this paper will be more in the nature of a political analysis than the product of scholarly research. The assertions made throughout this presentation will be based on several years experience of addressing the equity issues in higher education from the federal perspective and from the perspective of one who was charged with the responsibility of focussing on those programs designed to increase minority access to higher education. During my years of service in the Department of Education I had the unusually good luck to serve as assistant to Assistant Secretary Mary Berry, a person who is unusually perceptive and dedicated to solving the problems of equity in higher education. I shall try to pass on to you some of the things which I learned during those years.

First, we know that the decline in federal financial assistance will have an impact upon black student enrollment in higher education. It is not news that the loss of public subsidies falls with the greatest force upon the poor and the needy. In the next several pages, I plan to provide support for my thesis that declines in federal financial aid will be felt disproportionately by the black and the poor and that the impact of these reductions will be greatest at those institutions where the poor and the minority students are concentrated.

Reduction in federal financial assistance will be felt by all institutions, but it will not be felt equally at all institutions. The impact of the reductions will be influenced by location, the composition of the student body and the class of institution.

First, let us examine the matter of the class of institutions. For the purpose of analyzing the impact of federal cuts, we shall divide the nation's approximately 3000 institutions of higher education into six classes. The first class is that class made of the wealthiest and most selective of institutions. Almost all of them are private. We would include among this class, MIT, Harvard, Yale, Stanford, University of Michigan and about ten other institutions. Even though they are neither private, nor among the most selective of our institutions, the University of Texas and Texas A & M must be included within this category. Between the two of them, those universities have some 2 billion dollars in reserves which flow from oil royalties and which are deposited in a permanent university fund which is unique to Texas. These institutions are best situated to absorb losses due to cuts in federal financial aid. The major impact to these institutions will be that minority students simply will not apply for admission in the same numbers as in past years. Black students simply will not apply for admission in the same numbers as in past years. Black students, who disproportionately will be affected by the current national economic contraction, will turn to what appear to be more affordable educational options.

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The next class of institutions contains about one hundred (100) "research" institutions. This combination of large private institutions and flagship public institutions receives about 80 percent of the research dollars provided by the federal government. These institutions will be forced to modify their methods of operation as they begin to search for sources of support to replace the research assistance which they currently receive from the federal government. It can be expected that where choices must be made between current efforts to increase minority access to these campuses, or to continue support to research efforts, there will be an overwhelming bias toward continued support of research programs.

The next class of institutions is that large middle group of private and public institutions. This group represents by far the largest number of the country's students. As federal financial aid and assistance declines, these institutions will react in different ways. Well-run institutions in the South and Southwest will tend to grow. Particularly among the private institutions, success will be determined by the degree to which they can attract political support and public and private financial support to replace reductions in federal financial aid. It is to these institutions that low-income students will turn in growing numbers as they lose access to financial assistance.

A fourth group, the small, private liberal arts institutions have a special set of problems. Those small private institutions located in the northeast and central states of the nation have been particularly burdened by rising energy costs, increasing costs for support of aging physical plants and high personnel costs. A considerable amount of attention has been given these institutions in higher education literature over the past decade. The nation may lose as many as two hundred of these institutions over the next two decades. At the same time new private institutions seem to be developing in a pattern which follows the nations population movement from the northern and central states to the south and southwest.

There is that fastest growing segment of the higher education community, the two year community colleges. These 1200 institutions, located throughout the country, are by a ratio of five to one, public rather than private. They can be expected to grow and flourish as a result of reductions of federal financial assistance. Community colleges enjoy several advantages in the competition for relatively scarce educational dollars. They are cheaper, admissions procedures are relatively uncomplicated and they are commuter schools. The commuter characteristic eliminates the need for dormitory fees and allows the student to work part-time or full-time while in attendance at the institution.

And finally, there are about 90 historically black four year institutions located in seventeen states through the central and southern sections of the country. These small and medium-sized institutions are located as far north as Pennsylvania and Ohio, as far south as Florida and as far west as Oklahoma and Texas. About three-fourths of the students at these institutions are in the forty or so public black colleges. These institutions and their students will feel the greatest pressure from reductions in federal financial assistance.

The federal government offers federal financial aid to the higher education community in several forms. Most forms of support can be found in one of four different categories. Generally those four categories of aid are (1) general subsidies to institutions (institutional aid); (2) categorical program support; (3) financial aid to students; (4) and federal support for research. The various classes of institutions rely on the various categories of federal aid to different degrees.

About half of the ten billion dollars of federal financial aid to higher education is given in the form of grants and concentrated heavily within the one hundred large research universities. The amount of research support to the institutions with the high concentration of minority students is de minimus. While the reduction of research dollars predictably would have a profound impact upon the quality of American education and the American economy, its impact upon minority enrollment would be very tenuous. It is reduction in student aid, categorical program support and institutional aid which will reduce both the absolute number and the percentage of black students who will enroll in institutions of higher education over the next five years. For a clearer picture of the impact, we must understand how minority students are distributed across the classes of institutions.

Let us now turn our attention to the way federal assistance is distributed within the various titles of the Higher Education Act so that we can better predict how the reductions will affect the various classes of institutions.

The Higher Education Act of 1965 set out to provide a broad set of subsidies to higher education consistent with national objectives and to a large degree, reflected the desire of the American institutions of higher education to increase federal support to all classes of institutions. The Act provided federal support for community service and lifelong learning programs, libraries, teacher training, graduate education, housing and construction, community colleges, general assistance to improve undergraduate education and cooperative education.

By 1980, the federal perspective and budget had undergone a significant change. Analysts suggested that the federal government had overcommitted itself to higher education in certain categories. The federal government removed itself from general institutional aid except insofar as support for research can be viewed as general support. The Congress also retained support for two institutional support programs: Title III, the Developing Institutions Program, and the Minority Institutions Science Improvement Program (MISIP). These institutional support programs will be addressed in more detail below.

Given that analysts began to detect excess capacity within the four year segment of higher education and that economic and demographic growth brought about pressures for growth of new types of institutions, federal policy makers sharpened their focus and redefined their role to reflect a commitment to providing access for Americans who hitherto could not afford postsecondary education. The Titles within the Higher Education Act which most accurately reflect the country's commitment to providing access to minorities and the poor are Title III, the Developing Institutions Program; Title IV, the Student Financial Assistance Programs; and Title IX, the Graduate Assistance Programs.

The Developing Institutions Program started as a program to provide assistance to the struggling historically black institutions. These institutions, both public and private had long been underfunded by state governments, ignored by foundations and donors, and had an insignificant participation in other programs of federal assistance. Yet these institutions were required to offer their services at lower prices than other institutions if they were to remain within the financial reach of their constituency. Title III was designed to help these institutions develop a sound financial base.

The shrinking economy of the seventies along with population movements and high energy costs had a relatively severe impact at the small private liberal arts institutions of the northeast and industrial midwest. These independent institutions began in the seventies with some success to fight to be included within the guidelines of the Title III program. Finally, the community colleges were able to force a change in the legislation which required that no less than 24% of the program support be allocated to them.

Levels of support for the program have by no means kept pace with inflation or with the new constituencies eligible for support within the program. Those institutions which have traditionally depended heavily upon this source of support have found themselves greatly constrained in terms of the number of students they can admit and educate. We should expect that as a result of reduced support from Title III, enrollment rates will drop at historically black institutions, with a few exceptions in the southwest.

Title IV, the Student Financial Assistance Programs, is the truest measure of the federal commitment to equal educational opportunity. In fact, the Pell Grant Program was originally called the basic educational opportunity grant (BEOG). That grant, along with the supplementary educational opportunity grant (SEOG) and the college work study (CWS) program, was designed to make sure that low-income students had access to postsecondary educational opportunities. Loan programs such as the National Direct Student Loan program (NDSL) and the Guaranteed Student Loan (GSL) program were designed to provide a measure of choice for those students with greater financial resources. State Student Incentive Grants (SSIG) were developed to encourage the states to develop and operate their own student financial aid programs. These grants were made directly to the states rather than to institutions or to students.

Title IV contains another significant commitment to educational opportunities. It was understood that the entrance of large numbers of low income and minority students, after receiving assistance with tuition, would require new interventions and supportive services to increase their chances of success on college campuses. The federal support system provided for the development and support of these programs is called the TRIO programs. They include Special Services for Disadvantaged Students, Upward Bound, Educational Opportunity Centers and Talent Search programs. As many of you know, these programs have been of considerable help in identifying, attracting and supporting minority students at predominantly white and predominantly black campuses.

Title IX contains the federal government's commitment to graduate education. As with undergraduate education the federal government has significantly reduced its commitment to general support of graduate edcuation and has focused on providing special educational opportunities. This Act initially provided support for public service and mining fellowships. The last Assistant Secretary for Education changed the focus of the program to support a graduate and professional opportunity program. This program is designed to increase the number of minority and female candidates in graduate disciplines where they were most drastically underrepresented. Part D of Title IX contains the CLEO program, a program designed to increase access to the legal profession for disadvantaged students.

This administration has undertaken several initiatives to contain the rate of growth of the federal commitment to higher education. Higher education, however, is one area of the federal budget where the Congress has consistently provided larger allocations than those requested by the President. For fiscal year 1983. they seem prepared to hold authorization levels at about the 1982 levels. Since the Congress is now in the process of settling on authorization levels, it may be instructive to look at the changes which took place between the 1981 and 1982 budget.

The administration's request would have reduced the maximum entitlement in the BEOG Program from $1800 to $1600 and reduced the income levels of families eligible for support. Interestingly enough, it was the Reagan administration which advocated a refocusing of the program to its original intent - that of providing support for the low-income students. The Congress, however, retained the middle income eligibility qualifications and reduced the size of the grants by $80 across the board.

Support for the College Work Study program was cut from $550 million to $528 million; the SEOG was cut from $370 million to $278 million. These levels, however, do not reflect the depth of the President's commitment to reduce federal support to certain segments of higher education. The administration requested zero dollars for SSIG, SEOG, and NDSL. The administration requested that CWS be cut to $397.5 million.

In fiscal year 1982, the TRIO programs were reduced from $156 million to $150.24 million. The fact that the level of support was not reduced to the $82.5 million requested by the President is attributable to the effectiveness of one black-led lobby in Washington which has concentrated its efforts on the maintenance of the equal opportunity programs in Title IV. It is the only black-led lobbying group which has as its constituency a largely minority student and professional staff located at predominantly white campuses.

The administration requested $129.6 million for the Developing Institutions Program and Congress appropriated $124.4 million. $4.4 million of that authorization will not be used because this administration has allocated that sum to the Challenge Grant Program, a program to which none of the eligible black institutions has applied.

The graduate programs, the mining and public service fellowships and the graduate and professional opportunities program were allocated $10.5 million, a reduction from $12 million. The CLEO program, which has received approximately $1 million each year over the past decade received $.96 million in 1981. The low level of support for this program is due in large part to the less than warm support for the program by the American Bar Association. Finally, the Minority Institutions Science Improvement Program was reduced from $5 million to $4.8 million. The President had requested $3.3 million for the program.[2]

By a 2 to 1 ratio black students are found in public institutions rather than private institutions. An analysis done by Alexander Astin a few years ago demonstrated that black stuents are three times as likely to be found in the lower range of public four year colleges as in the upper range of public universities.[3] Within the two-year college system, blacks are found in the public community colleges by a 13 to 1 ratio. Black students, then, are overwhelmingly found on the campuses of the community colleges, the historically black institutions and the less selective public colleges. While it is proper that the black administrators at this conference address themselves to the increased pressures which they will face along with the black students as a result of cuts in federal aid, I submit that these problems will be small compared to the problems faced at historically black institutions and campuses with large concentrations of minority students.

Much has been made in recent years about the fact that the historically black colleges educate only about 20% of the black undergraduates in the country. This fact is normally stated with some satisfaction by representatives of predominantly white four year institutions as if this fact provides some proof that significant progress has been made on their own campuses. The facts, however, are not as supportive of their contention as one might believe. About 60% of the black and other minority students are found on the campuses of the two-year community colleges. This means that the 90 or so historically black four-year institutions still enroll and educate approximately the same number of black students as roughly 1800 predominantly white four-year colleges and universities. The number of black students on predominantly white campuses remains a very thin black line. Indeed black students as a percentage of student bodies on predominantly white campuses appear to have peaked at a high of about 6 percent in 1974 at the less selective four year public colleges and have been declining since that time. Highly selective private universities have attracted black students to a degree that is the exception rather than the rule among predominantly white institutions. They have not, however, been an exception to the losses in application, enrollment, and graduation rates which began with the 1974 recession.

A special word must be said about the degree to which black students and historically black institutions rely on federal financial assistance. The median income for a black family in the U.S. in 1981 was just over 12,000 dollars while the median income for white families was just over $21,000. Indeed more than half of the black students in attendance at institutions of higher education come from families whose total family income is $10,000 or less. Blacks depend on BEOG and SEOG four to five times as often as white students. They are disproportionally found in college work study programs and their parents contribute more to their college expenditures as a percentage of family income.[4] Of the 2.4 billion which went to students under the Pell Grant program in 1981, 1.3 billion went to students whose family income totalled $9,000 or less.

The problem of student financial aid is particularly acute at historically black institutions and urban community colleges. At some historically black institutions, 95% of the student body qualifies for federal financial assistance. The United Negro College Fund reported in 1978 that more than 75 percent of the parents of UNCG applicants could afford to provide less than $500 a year to the support of the typical applicant to UNCF institutions.[5]

The problem of institutional aid also is particularly grave at black institutions. They have very few endowments, do not receive the wide range of subsidies available to predominantly white institutions, and generally charge a lower tuition. They are much more dependent upon federal support than other institutions. Colleges and universities generally receive about half of their resources from public sources with about 14 percent coming from the federal government. Black institutions receive 60 percent of their resources from public sources, about 30 percent of that from the federal government. Among private institutions, generally, about 14 percent of their funds originate at the federal level; among black private institutions that amount is about 40 percent.[6] It should be clear then that federal reductions of support to higher education will be disproportionately felt by the historically black institutions and the students at those institutions.

By contrast the student aid program which is primarily geared to middle income and graduate students continues to grow by leaps and bounds. The Guaranteed Student Loan provides a government subsidy for interest on student loans. This government subsidy grew from $500 million to $3 billion between 1978 and 1982. The GSL is currently the fastest growing entitlement program in the federal education budget.

The growth of the GSL program and the reduction of the BEOG program raises a significant question: to what degree has the much heralded coalition of equal opportunity interest groups and the representatives of middle income students served the interests of low-income and minority students? One can expect that as even greater sacrifices are required of the higher education community, the representatives of middle and upper income groups will press for a shift in federal policy to emphasize choice between institutions rather than access for the needy.

As reductions in federal financial assistance to higher education take effect, the strength of the country's commitment to educational opportunity will be tested at the state and institutional level. Unfortunately, the cracks in the institutional and state support have already begun to show. The president of Harvard College in his recent report to the corporation called for a reevaluation of federal financial aid policies. Apparently, Mr. Bok would redesign federal financial aid policies to focus more on academic achievement and the likelihood of academic success than financial need. It is common knowledge that these factors have a close correlation to race, family income and educational level of the parents. These factors therefore would tend to favor white, middle and upper income families. It is a call to return to the processes for which so long kept minority presence to a minimum on "selective" campuses.

In Missouri, the president of the state university system recently received a budget which reflected a commitment at the state level to reduce support to the university by 13 percent. That reduction plan, if adopted, would have eliminated 63 percent of the professional positions held by blacks at the university. These cuts were centered in academic disciplines such as education and social sciences, and in student services - that ghetto of the academic community. It should not come as a surprise that as institutions begin to adjust priorities in reaction to reduced levels of federal and state support, "equal opportunity" programs and black professionals who were hired in response to an increased black student presence on campuses will be targets of budget cuts.

Recent discussions with admissions officials suggest that institutions have begun to focus on less well-prepared students who can pay their way rather than well-prepared students with low family incomes. Low-income students by and large have already begun applying to less selective and less expensive institutions. We must remember that federal financial aid policies are designed to provide access but not choice. A $1600 grant provides little choice when private institutions are routinely charging $8000 for tuition alone. As low-income and minority students seek lower cost alternatives, the pressures on the urban community college and the less selective public college will grow. The result will be the growth of a new set of predominantly black colleges in the urban centers of the country. These institutions will in most cases be community colleges and lower division campuses of state systems. In other cases they will be less selective four year campuses or urban branch campuses of state systems. These patterns have already begun to take shape in Atlanta, Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Houston, Los Angeles, New York and Washington D.C.

We can expect the reduction of federal financial assistance to direct more and more black students toward the community college. While this may be an appropriate national development, it is at odds with strategies to increase the numbers of blacks and other minorities in those disciplines where they are most drastically underrepresented. We all know that blacks are underrepresented in law, medicine, engineering and other professions but we are even more drastically underrepresented in the science-based professions.

It is still true that some seventy percent of graduate degrees granted to blacks are granted in one discipline - education. Black graduate students and faculty are overwhelmingly found in the social sciences and education, those areas where national and institutional demand are weakest. In recent years there has been some significant movement among black undergraduates from education towards business and commerce, but even this trend is related to business education and not much emphasis is found on mathematically-based business skills.

The trend toward community colleges and less selective four year institutions will seriously curtail black efforts to move into the power centers of the nation. It is simply asking too much to ask the community colleges to produce black computer scientists, entomologists, argicultural and aeronautical engineers, environmental scientists, nutritionists, tax attorneys, economists, urban planners and poets.

And so we can conclude that reduced federal aid to higher education will have several effects upon minority student access to higher education. One of those effects will be to slow the advances made by low-income and minority students over the past two decades. We can expect black students to become increasingly concentrated in the two year and less selective four year urban campuses. We can expect that the number of black students prepared to go on to graduate and professional school will decline as a result of increased pressure on historically black institutions and urban institutions with high concentrations of minority students.

We should not expect much of a political outcry or outrage within the black community. Within the hierarchy of needs facing the black community, choice between institutions of higher education and access to graduate education are relatively remote objectives. Adequate housing, underemployment and no employment, crime and an adequate education at the elementary and secondary level are much more immediate issues.

Much of the black community is ambivalent about the importance of access to prestigious white institutions to the black community as a whole. It is with some disappointment that those who struggled to open those institutions conclude that most of the benefits of attendance and graduation have been private. It does not yet appear that there has arisen a new class of black intellectuals motivated or prepared to address the crushing problems of America's black communities.

Also, it may be argued that those black faculty, staff and graduate students who remain at these institutions have not convincingly articulated the differences between their own interests, the interests of the institutions where they are employed, and the interests of black communities. These issues will not be addressed with the gravity which they deserve until black educators and administrators at predominantly white campuses organize themselves to address them. Without your leadership, the dream of access to all levels of higher education, as well as its benefits is a dream which may very well elude the black community. That dream like many of those that motivated our communities two decades ago may also fall, empty and dry, like a raisin in the sun.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The National Council of Equal Opportunity Programs.

[2] Discussions with Mr. William Blakey, Esquire. Counsel, House Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education, June 24, 1982.

[3] Alexander Astin, "The Myth of Equal Access in Public Higher Education," Southern Education Foundation (July 1975), p.5.

[4] Larry Leslie, "Higher Education Opportunity: A Decade of Progress," ERIC Higher Education Research Report, No. 3 (1977) Table 14, p. 35.

[5] United Negro College Fund, "Annual Statistical Report of the Member Institutions," (1979), p. 18.

[6] Lorenze Morris, Elusive Equality, Howard University Press, (1979), p. 193.

IS THERE TRUE INSTITUTIONAL COMMITMENT TO BLACK PROGRAMS AND PERSONNEL?

Phillip E. Jones

Introduction

As I contemplated the topic for this presentation, my thoughts consistently came back to the question, what does commitment to black-oriented programs in predominantly white colleges and universities mean in higher education today as compared to what commitment meant in the 1960s? Does it mean the same thing commitment presumably meant when the Educational Opportunity Programs were being invented during the sixties and early seventies, and does it really matter?

I guess what really bothers me is that today I do not relate to the notion of black-oriented programs in the same way that I did ten years ago. But I think all that we have done and have been committed to during the past decade and a half in predominantly white colleges and universities basically addresses this country's premiere social dilemma -- the participation of black people in the educational and economic systems of this society. Therefore, I have reconciled myself to thinking of this topic from the standpoint of considering the development of equality of opportunity components in higher education with the participation of black people in the system as a barometer of commitment of majority institutions to the concept of diversity and equality in the academy.

Historical Surveillance of Black-Oriented Programs

With respect to the questions I raised about whether there is as much commitment to black-oriented programs today as presumably there was in the early sixties, and whether it matters, I would like to share with you why I think it matters that we be aware of, and give serious analysis to, questions concerning commitment to black-oriented programs in predominantly white institutions.

In a historical context, black-oriented programs represent the systematic responses of predominantly white colleges and universities to the social imperatives of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and early sixties. Improving educational opportunities for the nation's talented, economically disadvantaged, and educationally segregated populations became the focus of many colleges and universities as a result of the National Defense Education Act of 1951 (Gordon, 1971). In order to serve educationally and economically disadvantaged black students and other minority students, many institutions began to develop compensatory programs and services. Their purposes were to minimize financial and academic impediments faced by the students in traditional, competitive, predominantly white colleges and universities.

Systematic programs to admit, finance, and provide extra academic assistance to large groups of blacks and other minority students became evident during the early sixties. Syracuse University admitted 241 students who placed below the mean performance on the admissions tests for the traditionally admitted freshman class in 1961 (Hoffman, 1967). In 1963, Michigan State University launched a program for students with academic potential and provided financial aid, remedial courses, tutoring and individual counseling (Abramson, 1968). Baruck College of the City University of New York initiated the College Development Program by admitting 231 students to the program in 1964 (Dispengieri, 1968). In the same year, Cornell University began the College Opportunity Special Education Program (Tetlow, 1970).

The University of California Regents made the first formal appropriation in 1964 to establish and support what are now known as the Educational Opportunity Programs (EOPs) in the University of California system. Gordon and Wilkerson (1964) reported that twenty-eight percent of the 2,000 institutions they surveyed in the early sixties had initiated black and other minority student programs.

Early black-oriented programs were often funded by private foundations (Astin, 1972). After the early sixties, private foundations contributed to fewer programs than did state and federal sources. By the early seventies, many programs depended primarily on external support for their continuation (Spurlock, 1974). A combination of institutional and federal funds became the most frequent means of financing black-oriented programs. I will return to this point later.

The Administrators of Black-Oriented Programs

Who initially administered these programs? There seems to be little information in the literature on the profile of administrators of black-oriented programs during the early sixties. However, I would like to share with you the results of an informal survey I conducted in 1973 during the University of Iowa management training institute for administrators of black-oriented programs. The institute was funded through the U.S. Office of Education under the Education Professions Development Act (EPDA) for higher education administrators. While the sample was not scientifically drawn, the twenty-five to thirty administrators constituting the sample represented various types of institutions from across the country.

The administrators tended to be in the early stages of their careers with a median age of 33. Males constituted three-fourths and females one-fourth of the population. Three-fourths were black, and one-fourth were white or Hispanic. Slightly more than half held the title of director; about one-fourth held the title of dean; and about one-fourth held other titles such as coordinator. Most of their titles described a specific function addressing special or minority educational programs and tended to be associated with student service administrative organizations.

The fields in which the administrators held degrees tended to be in education and social sciences. Most seemed to have previous work experience in public school teaching or in community social service agencies. Previous professional experience in higher education as administrators or faculty persons was not a pattern for these administrators. There was a pattern of attendance at historically black colleges for undergraduate training for a relatively high proportion of the administrators. However, few had held professional positions in historically black colleges. The median years of previous professional experience was four, with a range from no previous experience to eleven years. The vast majority had no previous administrative experience. The median length of time they had been administrators of black-oriented programs was two years, with a range from being newly appointed to six years. About forty percent of those in the survey held terminal degrees beyond the Master's. Most of their degrees were in fields of education, and about one-fourth of their advanced degrees were in counseling. About one-fifth of the administrators were pursuing doctorate degrees at the time of the survey.

The profile of administrators of black-oriented programs from the early to the mid-sixties probably reflects the emphases and commitments of institutions to black-oriented programs. As systematic efforts were being established in predominantly white institutions to minimize impediments faced by black and other minority students, the faculties and administrators in these institutions found themselves operating in a new area with few effective sources of prior experience in addressing the learning experiences of black and other minority students. Therefore, people who could bridge the gap were selected to administer the programs.

Black-oriented program administrators were expected to understand and appreciate the values of predominantly white institutions. Having earned advanced degrees from these institutions was affirmation of an understanding and appreciation of the values of these institutions. The black-oriented program administrators were expected to be relevant role models for the students in the programs. Age, race, sex and background were important factors in this regard. A person, probably black and probably male, within the same or close to the generation of the typical undergraduate college student, preferably from a working class background, possibly urban, with an extroverted personality, hopefully charismatic, would probably qualify as a relevant role model. They were expected to have credibility with the faculty and administration. The administrators were expected to be, or to quickly become, knowledgeable of the organizational and political dynamics of complex universities or highly traditional colleges in order to converse in an articulate, persuasive fashion to advance the goals and objectives of programs that were unincorporated into the academic milieu. Commitments of predominantly white institutions to black-oriented programs in the early sixties were often personified through the directors of the programs. And the extent to which the programs became incorporated into the academic milieu in budgetary and curricular terms was often directly related to the personalities of the directors of the programs and the nature of the personal commitments of the central administrations with which the directors worked.

In these times of economic retrenchment in institutions where commitments to black-oriented programs are significantly based on federal funds, the programs are unincorporated into the academic milieu, and the institutions have low expectations for quality performances from program staff and students, there may be black administrators who "have stayed too long at the fair." Those who have not pursued advanced degrees for professional development, have had narrowly-focused administrative experiences, have basically performed custodial management functions maintaining the status quo may find themselves in situations with fairly substantial incomes but with less than competitive credentials to be considered for professional advancement.

On the other hand, other black administrators have moved from the programs to other administrative positions in predominantly white institutions. These administrators tend to be those who have earned terminal degrees and who have been involved in a broader range of educational and administrative issues than the black-oriented program. Their professional advancement tends to be in institutional management positions rather than in academic administration as a result of their nontraditional professional development. They tend to enter mid-level administrative positions with new doctorate degrees and considerable administrative experience which is often in student service-oriented administration. They tend not to have much experience in teaching or research, and their publications tend to be limited or nonexistent. These characteristics also tend to pertain to women and other minorities associated with black-oriented and federally-related programs (Scollay, 1982).

The Relationship of the Program to the Mainstream

The relationship of black-oriented program activities to the mainstream activities of the institutions and the relative importance of black programs to the institutions centered on the functional components which were stressed in the programs. The major emphases of the programs were in the areas of admissions, financial aids, personal counseling, and academic assistance. In a case study of nineteen black-oriented programs, Astin (1972) reported that most programs offered tutoring, counseling, and guidance services while others provided supportive academic services such as remedial courses, special classes, workshops, and a system for reduced course loads. In 1974, the North Central Association's Committee on Students with College Aptitute from Disadvantaged Environments (SCADE) surveyed fifty-five institutions in a follow-up to a 1969 survey of functional components of black-oriented programs. Counseling was a component in about eighty-five percent of the programs. Over fifty percent of the responding institutions reported orientation, teaching methods and selection of instruction, and financial aid as components of their programs. Other surveys (Johnson, 1974) indicated that admissions, financial aid, and counseling components were common to black-oriented programs in all types of majority institutions.

Through the establishment of black-oriented programs, predominantly white institutions sought to ameliorate the impending academic difficulties of students with different from traditional admissions characteristics by supplementing the mainstream activities of the institutions. Degree requirements and grading procedures were not modified as a result of the establishment of black-oriented programs. Special efforts were necessary to produce the desired outcomes from other than traditionally defined inputs. Hence, the nexus between the mainstream university activities and the activities of the programs was through support in the form of services rather than through innovations in the traditional academic programs, standards, curricula, or teaching methods.

Traditional majority institutions which allowed the admission of nontraditional students and held the students to traditional graduation standards had to supplement the educational processes in order to help the students by-pass some of the built-in rejection mechanisms that coincide with assumptions about the learning characteristics of traditional students. The relative importance of the program activities to the institutions was that the programs were designed to neutralize excessive effects of the built-in rejection mechanisms while assuring that the traditional standards of the institutions were not compromised. If the assumption that black and other minority students have the potential to be productive in what is a deficit model system is accepted, then development of a system to help the students by-pass the built-in rejection mechanisms was necessary because the institutional learning processes had not been modified, and the output criteria remained unchanged. The program activities needed to be strong enough to give the students a reasonable chance to produce and graduate.

The Impact of Funding Losses

The relative strength of the program activities is directly proportionate to the funding of the programs. I mentioned earlier that black-oriented programs generally were funded through state and/or federal sources. In some institutions, federal funds are depended upon to a significant extent to finance black-oriented programs. In a study I conducted in 1974, there was an inverse relationship between the amount of federal funds in the operating budgets of institutions when compared to the federal funds supporting the administrative costs of black-oriented programs. Large research-oriented institutions, which tend to have significant amounts of federal research funds in their operational budgets, tend to depend less on federal sources to support black-oriented programs than do comprehensive institutions which do not emphasize research. Comprehensive institutions, which tend to have little or no federal research funds in their operational budgets, tend to rely heavily on federal sources, TRIO funds, and aid to developing institutions to support the administrative costs of black-oriented programs.

Initial commitments to support new programs in universities and colleges are often started with funds from discretionary or special appropriations. Inclusion of new programs in the base budgets through recurring allocations tends to establish an institutional priority for new programs and may signify an increased institutional commitment to the new programs. Starting funds from federal sources for new black-oriented programs from the early to the mid-1960s were significant in broadening institutional responses to social imperatives. However, during a period of economic retrenchment, such as we are experiencing today, transition from special appropriations to recurring allocations becomes especially difficult.

If equality of opportunity components, which have been developed through black-oriented programs, are to be considered essential parts of the institutional process, the administrative structures of the programs must be firm components of institutional base budgets. The need to be in the base budget is especially applicable to programs in institutions which do not rely heavily on federal funds for other aspects of their operational costs. Financial support through recurring institutional funds may be a very significant indication of true institutional commitment to black programs and personnel.

The Development of Institutional Commitment

The current commitment to black-oriented programs seems to reflect changes in the institutions resulting from the equal opportunity movement which was given impetus during the sixties. The concept of equality of opportunity in higher education has been broadened in predominantly white institutions since the sixties. Many black-oriented program activities that were invented to help educationally and economically disadvantaged students achieve success have been integrated into traditional educational programs.

The commitment of predominantly white institutions to equality of educational opportunities appears to have undergone three phases of development. The initial phase of commitment occurred during the early sixties until about 1973. This period was one of increased social awareness, and initial commitments were made by the institutions to increase educational opportunities for blacks and other minorities. The period was characterized by a rapid increase in minority enrollment. Minority populations in predominantly white institutions doubled between 1969 and 1973 from three percent to six percent (Morris, 1981).

Through the development of an organized group of related services, black-oriented programs achieved moderate success, and faculty members began to obtain an improved understanding of the educational needs of minority students during this period (Peterson, 1978). Many students participating in the programs demonstrated that they had the academic potential to succeed in college. With the increased understanding by the faculties and the help of the programs, many students succeeded even though they may not have had the previous educational opportunities necessary to meet the traditional admissions criteria. Hence, this initial period was marked by considerable commitment to innovation to broadening admissions criteria which were later applied to all students (Willingham and Breland, 1982).

The second phase began about five years after the initiation of systematic programs to increase minority participation in higher education. The beginning of this phase of the development of institutional commitment coincides roughly with the graduation of many of the first generation of participants in black-oriented programs. The development of the second phase of commitment spanned from about 1973 until about 1977. The beginning of this period represents the completion of the first full cycle of black-oriented programs from admission through post-undergraduate placement.

During this period, considerable institutional and federal financial support were allocated for the development and maintenance of the programs. As I stated earlier, many institutions based their commitments on federal support. As a result of the increased federal support, an ad hoc approach, which originally characterized the structuring of black-oriented programs, was replaced by an organized approach to developing groups of related services. Program administrators began to use the findings from empirical studies to improve their services to students. To some extent, faculty support increased for the objectives of the programs. Overall, the second phase was a period of stabilization of commitment to the concept of broadened educational opportunity and cultural diversity in predominantly white institutions. Black undergraduate enrollment, however, reached a plateau during this period and began to show a slight decline by the beginning of the current period (Morris, 1981).

The current stage of development of commitment, which began in about 1978, is characterized by a gradual, though seemingly unplanned, process of integration of black-oriented program services into traditional educational programs. Budgetary concerns for the high costs of program administration is a factor leading to the integration. Increased use of technology in the management of student information makes integration necessary in some cases in order to avoid the isolation of black-oriented programs from the mainstream of information coordination. Increased numbers of minority students entering technical and scientific programs make general academic assistance difficult for the black-oriented program to provide in highly technical areas. Increased awareness, ability, and willingness among some faculties to address the needs of a diverse student population are factors contributing to program integration. In many ways, the traditional administrative structures of black-oriented programs have become obsolete. Nevertheless, predominantly white colleges and universities continue to have a crucial compensatory role in relation to the social and economic factors in the society at large which have a disproportionate effect on educationally and economically disadvantaged students.

Many factors have an impact on future development of institutional commitments to educational opportunities. Changes in the national economy and concerns about declining enrollments are having a significant impact on institutional commitments. Recent interpretations of Civil Rights legislation and affirmative action policies, such as the Bakke case, are having an impact on institutional commitments. These factors as well as an increased awareness of women's concerns and those of the physically disabled serve to lessen the specific emphasis on black-oriented programs. But where there is real institutional commitment, these factors serve to broaden the concept of equality of opportunity for all students in higher education.

In summary, I believe there has been an evolution in the development of institutional commitments to programs euphemistically referred to as "black-oriented." Although, on a nationwide basis, the majority of administrators of so-called black-oriented, or federally related opportunity programs, are white males; the majority of black administrators in predominantly white institutions seems to be associated with black-oriented programs (Scollay, 1982). There has been, however, an evolution in the development of positions of black administrators in predominantly white colleges and universities.

Is there true commitment in predominantly white institutions to black-oriented programs? There is no simple answer to this question. But in order for the development of the commitment to continue evolving, black administrators and faculty, as well as other minority administrators and faculty, working in concert with white administrators and faculty, must assume the responsibility to analyze institutions and take the initiative to make equality of educational opportunity a true commitment and a reality in all colleges and universities.

HIGHER EDUCATION COMMITMENT TO AFFIRMATIVE ACTION: STRONG OR WANING?

Leroy Keith, Jr.

My letter of invitation to speak at this conference stated, "We had to ask you to address the area of state coordinating boards since you were the first, if not the only, black to head a state coordinating board." After reflecting on my personal experiences and on the general theme of this conference, I concluded that state boards, both coordinating and governing, could have a significant impact on the advancement of affirmative action if they exercised the power and authority that they possess.

The division of power among state governing boards and state coordinating boards is quite clear, in most instances.

> Governing boards have the final legal and judiciary responsibilities of the institution. They are empowered by law to act for the taxpayers in the case of public institutions. Their basic responsibilities, as delineated by Rauh (1969), are the following.
>
> 1. They hold the basic legal document of origin.
> 2. They evolve the purpose of the institution consonant with the terms of the document.
> 3. They seek a planned development.
> 4. They select and determine the tenure of the chief executive.
> 5. They hold the assets of the institution in trust.
> 6. They act as a court of last resort.

The creation of state coordinating boards is a fairly recent phenomenon in the history of American higher education. They serve primarily in an oversight capacity. They share many of the same responsibilities as governing boards but do not always have final legal or judiciary authority.

The Coordinating Council for Higher Education in California was established in 1960. It is primarily an advisory and informational body for the legislature and the governor on planning and appropriations. The Coordinating Board of the Texas College and University system was created in 1965 with planning, administrative, and review functions.

A more powerful unit is the Illinois Board of Higher Education, created by statute in 1961, with the primary purpose of serving as the central coordinating and planning mechanism for all of the state's public institutions of higher education. There are 16 members of the Illinois board, including the chairman or president of each of the five institutional boards. They are charged with the responsibilities of (1) developing a master plan, (2) reviewing all budget requests and making recommendations to the governor, and (3) full legal authority to make decisions on new programs. (Eulau and Quinley, 1970)

The collective power vested in the governing boards of public colleges and universities and in state coordinating boards by state legislatures of state constitutions is, by and large, far-reaching in matters of curriculum, campus planning, budget allocations, and overall policy-making and management of higher education systems and institutions.

Most have the authority and the responsibility to develop new operational patterns in response to changes in national and local public policy. Moreover, they also respond to changes occuring across the spectrum of society -- including the development and implementation of affirmative action plans.

The impetus for the concept of affirmative action in higher education came from Executive Order 11246, and later amendments, issued by President Lyndon Johnson in 1965. Affirmative action had two major purposes: (1) non-discrimination, and (2) a fair employment system. Contractors were required to take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin.

In 1971, the Executive Order was made applicable to government contractors in higher education. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare was given compliance authority and included in HEW guidelines was a requirement for employers to make efforts to recruit members of formerly excluded groups. Thus, affirmative action in higher education has as a goal an equitable representation of blacks in all areas. (Fleming, Gill, Swenton, 1978)

A conclusive assessment of the effectiveness of affirmative action in higher education is difficult because of the lack of sufficient published data. However, Fleming et. al. (1978) made a sweeping generalization when they asserted that "the academic community was a leader during the 1960's in advocating elimination of discrimination outside the academic marketplace, but it has failed badly in setting its own house in order."

The Florida State University affirmative action plan was one of several examined by the authors and presented as a case study.

In this instance, the Florida State president took the initiative, proposing to the board of regents that FSU be designated the pilot institution within the state university system for developing a master affirmative action plan for other institutions in the system to follow. The board of regents endorsed the proposal, and work on the plan was started in July, 1969.

Four and a half years later, a modified plan was approved by the HEW Office for Civil Rights and put into effect with a certain measure of success in increasing minority representation on the faculty and in the administration. However, the rest of the Florida State University System did not fully benefit from FSU's work because the system-wide master plan was never implemented.

Another of the Fleming case studies covers Merritt College in the Peralta District of Northern Almeda County, California. There, the board of trustees adopted an affirmative action plan in 1974, directing that the racial, ethnic and social makeup of the faculty of each institution should generally reflect the composition of the community served by the college. The plan is described as a generally good one. But its implementation has been slowed at Merritt College because the faculty there has the longest service of any college in the district, and few vacancies are expected in the near future.

The authors concluded that "affirmative action has been required of institutions of higher education for too short a time to make any value judgement." Yet, overall, they found that if there is a commitment to implement the procedures at all levels, affirmative action can be an effective mechanism for bringing blacks into the academic marketplace; can aid institutions in developing sound management policies and procedures; and can be an effective policy for altering a biased employment system.

To give us a sense of what is happening today, I had a telephone survey conducted of state coordinating boards in 20 states. Each was selected on the basis of minority representation and geographic location. The survey was made in June, 1982.

While it is impossible to examine in depth the full range of areas in which state coordinating boards affect the welfare of minorities in higher education, there were some very revealing findings. Our approach to investigating this subject was to focus on the boards' response to affirmative action and financial assistance to disadvantaged youth. The seriousness with which the state coordinating boards take their affirmative action mandate and commitment to financial assistance programs for disadvantaged youth will be reflected to a great extent in the activities of the state's colleges and universities.

Methodology

Specifically, the questionnaire focused on the following areas:

- Establishing the fact that respondents have an affirmative action plan;
- Determining the extent to which the plan is updated, and the timing and nature of this update;
- Clarifying the impact of Reduction-in-Force (RIF) on affirmative action goals;
- Identifying their commitment to financial assistance programs for the disadvantaged youth and the extent to which these programs have been affected by budgetary constraints; and
- Establishing the size, sexual composition and ethnicity of the boards.

Each of the 20 boards was contacted by telephone. The specific individual interviewed was either an assistant to the board director or commissioner or the person responsible for affirmative action. Of the 20 agencies contacted, 19 responded to the questionnaire. Interviews were conducted by the University of District of Columbia Office of Planning and Research.

Findings

Of the boards contacted, 14 (74%) indicated that they did have an affirmative action plan. Five (26%) of the boards indicated that they had no affirmative action plan. Three of the respondents noted that each state institution had its own affirmative action plan. The California Postsecondary Education Commission indicated that it had no affirmative action responsibility. As with the three boards referred to above, this responsibility may be decentralized among state colleges and universities.

Having some idea of the number of boards that have plans, we were then interested in how often these plans were updated and what triggers such updates. Sixteen boards indicated that they do update their affirmative action plans with varying frequency. The majority of the governing bodies which update their plans do so annually. Other responses ranged from twice a year to "as needed."

When asked what triggers this update, there were several responses; in fact, several boards gave multiple answers. The two most frequently mentioned were that state legislation and board policy required that their plan be revised. Sixty percent of the responses fell into these two categories. The other rationales cited for updating plans related to some mandates by other state entities, such as the Equal Employment Opportunity Office, the governor's office, the State Advisory Council and the Office of Human Rights. Two of the respondents did not know if there was an official mandate to revise their plan.

Obviously, a plan is of little value unless it is monitored and evaluated. We asked if their plans' objectives were reviewed during the year. Eleven (73%) of the fifteen boards responding to this question indicated that they did have formal reviews during the year. However, when asked the frequency of these reviews, four indicated that their reviews were annual, while another answered every 14 to 15 months. They either misunderstood the question or in effect, do not review progress toward plan ojectives during the year.

Coordinating boards that review their progress toward affirmative action goals are

- Missouri and New Jersey - monthly,
- Ohio, Virginia and Maryland - quarterly, and
- Connecticut and Georgia - every six months.

Coordinating boards which do conduct progress reviews were asked to explain the nature of these reviews. Missouri and New Jersey actually have affirmative action committees that review progress monthly and make recommendations to the overall board.

The review processes in Ohio and Connecticut seem to be the most comprehensive. Both stated that the entire workforce composition is examined. Connecticut indicated that an actual breakdown of all employees by race and salary is examined. Connecticut indicated that an actual breakdown of all employees by race and salary is accomplished during its six-month reviews.

One of the most controversial subjects affecting maintenance of standards and progress toward affirmative action goals is reduction-in-force (RIF). Many institutions are faced with severe budget cuts and must reduce their workforce. The impact of these cuts falls most heavily on those with least seniority. In most instances, minorities have the least seniority and, thus, would be the first to be fired.

Therefore, the most revealing indication of boards' commitment to affirmative action is the extent to which affirmative action goals are considered when organizations are faced with a RIF. When asked if these goals are considered in cases of RIF, ten (66%) of the 15 respondents said "yes," two said "no," and three of the boards indicated that the question raised a moot issue because neither had been faced with a RIF.

When the ten boards which responded affirmatively were asked to explain how affirmative action goals are considered in RIF situations, in most instances, the boards had not in fact worked out a procedure or policy for maintaining minority employment levels during a RIF. It turned out that many of the coordinating bodies surveyed had not been faced with RIF situations as yet.

Michigan was the only state that responded in a comprehensive fashion. It indicated that board policy allows for waivers to be requested when RIFs have the potential of negating affirmative action objectives.

Progress in the area of affirmative action is critical to improving the status of minority faculty and staff in higher education, but has little effect on the entry of minority students. Obviously, one of the major barriers to minority student access to higher education is financial assistance. Thus, three questions directed to the sample of state coordinating boards related to their involvement in financial assistance programs for disadvantaged youth. One-third of the boards responding indicated that they maintained state or local sponsored financial assistance programs for disadvantaged youth. The presumption is that many of the state and local financial aid programs are administered at the university level.

They were asked if current budget constraints had affected these assistance programs. The responses were split almost 50-50. Eight of the boards that did not maintain assistance programs did have some opinion of the budgetary impacts on such programs in the state. Two of the five boards which sponsor assistance programs indicated budgetary problems. When asked to what extent budgetary constraints had affected them, few could comment in detail. Delaware indicated that it experienced a 4 percent reduction in funding for such programs, and the Ohio board stated that the staff responsible for administering the program had been reduced.

One final area of interest is the composition of the boards surveyed. The attached chart shows the sexual and racial composition of the boards. The overall size of the board ranged from 21 in Connecticut to seven in Florida. There were females on every board except Florida's, though they always represented a small percentage of the total membership. Blacks were represented on each board, except in Florida and Ohio. Hispanics, on the other hand, were found on only three boards (California, Illinois, and Michigan).

Survey of Governing Boards

Having surveyed the state coordinating boards, it certainly made sense to poll some of the governing boards of universities in the state to get a feel for their roles and response to affirmative action, as well as their assessment of the performance of their state coordinating boards.

Essentially, the same telephone questionnaire administered to the coordinating boards was used to poll the governing boards. The person responding was frequently the affirmative action officer of the university. The only major changes were as follows:

- o questions were geared to the governing boards' affirmative action plan instead of the coordinating boards' plan;
- o the governing boards were asked to interpret their roles with respect to affirmative action; and
- o the boards were asked to rate both the coordinating boards and themselves in terms of their effectiveness in implementing affirmative action objectives.

There were 24 governing boards contacted. Seven did not call back. Seventeen responded to the survey.

When institutions were informed that our questions related to governing boards' affirmative action plans, we were invariably given the university affirmative action officer. This resulted in varying responses to some of the questions. That is, when asked questions concerning the plan's updates and review process, it was clear that many responded to institutional mandates, rather than governing board mandates. A summary of the findings from the survey is presented below.

All of the governing boards surveyed indicated that they have affirmative action plans. Fourteen (88%) of the governing boards update their plans annually. The affirmative action officer at Marshall University in West Virginia was the only respondent who indicated the institution's plans were updated every two years, while Mississippi State's affirmative action representative indicated that the university's plan was revised "whenever necessary."

The mandate for updating the AAP's fell primarily into three areas: board policy, state law or court decisions. Several respondents indicated that their plans are routinely updated with all other university annual goals and objectives and have no board or legislative mandate, as such. It was interesting to note, though, that while all but one of the respondents revised their plans, fewer than half have specific deadlines for these updates.

Sixteen of the 17 respondents answered "yes" to the question of whether or not they had periodic formal reviews of their plans during the year. But here, again, as with the state coordinating boards, several (8) indicated that their reviews occurred annually. Four affirmative actions officers (from Mississippi State, St. Louis University, University of Connecticut and University of South Carolina) said that their plans were reviewed quarterly, while Pennsylvania State and the State University of New York at Albany respondents indicated that their plans were reviewed twice a year. Two other respondents said that their reviews were conditional or done on a continuing basis.

We asked a series of three questions which were directed at some assessment of the governing and coordinating boards, and the role of the governing board with respect to the university affirmative action plans. The first question asks if there is a master system-wide affirmative action plan. Ten of the 17 respondents said that there is a master system-wide plan.

Secondly, the respondents were asked to identify the role of their local governing board. The majority of the institutions selected one of three responses. That is, they felt that the role of the board was to either monitor and review plans, approve them or implement affirmative action plans. Two offices polled (University of Maryland and State University of New York at Albany) indicated that their local boards had no role with respect to affirmative action.

Some of the governing board roles, as viewed by the institution, include the following:

- to hear problems as reported by the universities ;
- to ensure compliance with the Adams decision;
- to monitor desegregation; and
- no direct relationship but resolutions may affect university plans .

Finally, the respondents polled were asked to assess both themselves and their state coordinating boards with respect to affirmative action activities. The ratings were from one to five, with one being least effective and five being the most effective. Of the 15 responding to this question, eight gave their coordinating boards a ranking of four or five. Those receiving the highest rankings were the coordinating boards in West Virginia (Marshall University), Tennessee (Memphis State University), Pennsylvania (Penn State), Ohio (Ohio State) and New Jersey (Rutgers University).

The lowest ranking went to the states of Maryland (University of Maryland), Louisiana (University of New Orleans) and Mississippi (Mississippi State). The universities in parentheses represent the institutions of the responding affirmative action officers. The University of Maryland respondent indicated that the state's coordinating board had exhibited very little leadership in the area of affirmative action. One respondent refused to rate his board and another indicated that he did not know enough to rate it.

As one might expect, the self-ratings were quite high. Here again, as indicated earlier, it was unclear whether they rated the governing board's activities or the institution's. Of the 17 respondents, 13 rated themselves with a four or a five. Representatives from two institutions (University of Kentucky and Georgia State) rated themselves as being average. The St. Louis University and Mississippi State affirmative action staff gave themselves less than average ratings.

In conclusion, it would be fair to say that the respondents did not present any information that contradicted that presented by the state coordinating boards. The ratios of overall board effectiveness were split about 50-50. Some obviously felt that the boards could be much more effective, while others felt they were doing a good job. As one might expect, it is clear that the governing boards and their institutions are much more active in the affirmative action arena.

The governing boards were asked to supply information on the composition and ethnicity of their boards. Females were represented on all boards (though in the minority). Each board that reported ethnicity had some black representation, with the exception of Ohio State, University of South Carolina, and Southwest Missouri State.

I served as chancellor of the Massachusetts State Board of Higher Education, the state coordinating board, from 1975 to 1978. Prior to that time, I was Vice President of the University of Massachusetts System. In that role, I had the opportunity to observe first hand blatant examples of the need for affirmative action.

At the University of Massachusetts Medical School, there was a complete disregard for minority representation. At the student, staff, faculty, and administrative levels in 1973, there were no blacks. However, since that time there has been substantial improvement, not necessarily because of affirmative action but because of the commitment of the leadership.

Affirmative action only works when there is a firm commitment from the leadership, boards and presidents. As chancellor, I appointed an affirmative action advisory council consisting of faculty and administrators from the five segments of public higher education in the state: University of Massachusetts; State College System; Community College System; Southeastern Massachusetts University and the University of Lowell. We had no jurisdiction over affirmative action in private institutions.

The purpose of the committee was twofold:

1. update the state affirmative action plan that had been approved by the State Board of Higher Education; and
2. monitor the implementation of the plan.

The goals and timetables for each segment were included in the master plan. It was the responsibility of the various governing boards to tailor the general mandates of the plan to their particular segments based on the missions and goals of the institution, as well as the geographical location.

The coordinating board of Massachusetts attempted to set the tone for the state. It was up to the governing boards to make affirmative action work.

Did it work?

Evaluation of the effectiveness of affirmative action was mixed. Some did better than others. None did a lot.

Worth mentioning is the exemplary achievement in affirmative action at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, resulting in a substantial percentage of black faculty and administrators. The chancellor was black and committed. He worked very hard to push the campus to adhere to goals and timetables.

Also of note is the agreement reached between Southeastern Massachusetts University and the faculty union that included affirmative action as a criterion to be considered in the case of a reduction-in-force.

Affirmative action, overall, made small incremental difference with larger numbers of blacks at the Unviersity of Massachusetts at Boston, Roxbury Community College, Boston State and the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. With the exception of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, all of these institutions were in the Boston area.

In order to make significant progress in the area of affirmative action, it is imperative that we have individuals committed to the goals and objectives of affirmative action in leadership positions, be it as presidents, trustees or members of coordinating boards. It is our responsibility to see that committed individuals are nominated, appointed or elected. This, perhaps, will mean that we must increase our efforts in the political arena and in networking.

People push people who share their own value system; we must push people who share ours. If we have the proper leadership we can have policies that will insure the maintenance of a diverse faculty and staff. We can guarantee equal access to minority students. We can provide need-based financial aid to minority students from state and local funds as the federal funds are curtailed.

It is my considered opinion that at this point, commitment to affirmative action is waning. Black administrators and faculty on university campuses will decrease in numbers as budgetary problems become more severe. With reduction-in-force (RIF) and with blacks having been the last hired, unless affirmative action is built into board policy -- or, on unionized campuses, in master agreements as a criterion to be considered in RIF's -- we stand to lose the little that we have gained.

Composition of Coordinating Boards

	Male	Female	Black	White	Hispanic	Oriental	Asian	O+	Total
West Virginia	9	3	1	11					12
California	7	8	2	10	2	1			15
Connecticut	16	5	2	19					21
Delaware	11	3	2	12					14
Florida	7			7					7
Georgia	14	1	2	12					15
Illinois	14	2	2	12	2				16
Indiana									
Kentucky	14	3	1	16					17
Louisiana	13	3	3	13					16
Maryland	7	4	3	8					11
Michigan	5	3	1	6	1				8
Mississippi	11	2	3	10	1				13
Missouri	6	2	1	7					8
New Jersey	13	5	3	15					18
Ohio	8	1		9					9
South Carolina	13	5	4	14					18
Tennessee	14	3	2	9					17
Virginia	9	2	2	9					11
	178	50	30	192	5	1			228

Blacks make up 13 percent of total board members.

Composition of Governing Boards

	Male	Female	Black	White	Hispanic	Oriental	Asian	0+	total
West Virginia									
Marshall U	10	2	2	10					12
Connecticut									
U of Connecticut	17	2	1	18					19
Georgia									
Georgia State U	14	1							15
Illinois									
Northeastern U	5	4	1	8	1				9
Kentucky									
U of Kentucky	13	7	1	19					20
Louisiana									
U of New Orleans	12	2	1	13					14
Maryland									
U of Maryland	12	3	2	13					15
Mississippi									
Mississippi State U	11	2	3	10					13
Missouri									
St. Louis U	10	1	1	9	1				11
Southwest Missouri U	7	1		8					8
New Jersey									
Rutgers U[1]									
New York									
State U of New York at Albany[2]	7	3		10					10
Ohio									
Ohio State U	8	1		9					9
South Carolina									
U of South Carolina	15	1		16					16
Tennessee									
Memphis State U	9	3	1	11					12
Virginia									
Old Dominion U	14	3	1	15				1	17
Pennsylvania	29	3	2	30					32
	193	39	15	199	2			1	232

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[1] Respondent did no know the racial composition and did not wish to provide the data later.

[2] This is the membership of the SUNY Albany Advisory Council. Blacks made up 7 percent of total board members.

THE OUTLOOK FOR FUNDING FROM FOUNDATIONS AND PHILANTHROPIC AGENCIES

Roy V. Hill II

I bring you greetings on behalf of the Robert R. Moton Memorial Institute, Inc., our president, Dr. Mabel P. Phifer, and our founder, Dr. Frederick D. Patterson. I want to publicly thank the appropriate M.I.T. officials for inviting me, as a member of the Moton Institute team, to participate in this "First National Conference on Issues Facing Black Administrators at Predominantly White Colleges and Universities." You have the title of this workshop, "The Outlook for Funding from Foundations and Philanthropic Agencies," before you.

I have been asked to share information with you about (1) the Robert R. Moton Memorial Institute, Inc., (2) fund-raising preparations, and (3) career possibilities in the fund-raising profession. And I have been asked to say it all in fifteen minutes!

The Robert R. Moton Memorial Institute, Inc.

The Robert R. Moton Memorial Institute, Inc., is a non-profit comprehensive service corporation which provides a range of administrative, faculty, and student services to institutions of higher education. Moton Institute also provides management, fiscal, and technological services for agencies and small businesses. The institute was founded in 1952 and chartered originally in 1958 as the Robert R. Moton Memorial Foundation and Conference Center. According to Dr. Frederick D. Patterson, third president of Tuskegee Institute, founder of the United Negro College Fund, and founder of the Moton Institute, "the institute is a living memorial to Dr. Robert Russa Moton who gave 50 years of his life to education and the advancement of human welfare."

Here, let me say that Dr. Patterson also founded the College Endowment Funding Plan (C.E.F.P.). This plan is a unique self-help program "designed to achieve financial independence for colleges with little or no endowment." The Committee on Corporate Social Responsibility for the insurance industry in America has endorsed C.E.F.P. as a long-term corporate project.

Dr. Moton served a number of years as commandant of cadets at Hampton Institute, his Alma Mater, and later succeeded Booker T. Washington as president of Tuskegee Institute. During the 1930's, while serving as president of Tuskegee Institute, he purchased a seven-acre plot on the banks of the York River in Capahosic, Gloucester County, Virginia, and constructed a home to which he invited outstanding leaders of education, government, religion, and business to a series of informal meetings and conferences. These sessions focused on substantive national and international issues such as education, employment, housing, race relations, voter education, African development, and peace. These confidential meetings were called "Capahosic Conferences."

Services by the Robert R. Moton Memorial Institute, Inc., include planning and management improvement, development-endowment training, college endowment funding, long-range planning, fiscal management, external evaluation, support staff development, personnel development, and admissions and financial aid. Furthermore, Moton Institute conducts a series of annual conferences including our recently held "Development Conference on Foundations and Corporations." These national conferences are held at the Moton Conference

Center in Capahosic (Gloucester, Virginia).

In December, 1981, U.S. Secretary of the Interior James Watt designated the Moton Conference Center a national historic landmark. We also are on the state register in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Moton Institute is widely respected in professional circles for helping institutions and related constituencies of higher education realize their fund-raising goals and objectives. The president of Moton Industries is Mabel P. Phifer, Ph.D.

Fund-Raising Preparation

What is Philanthropy in the United States and How Do You Get Your Fair Share?

Because of the nature of this workshop panel, I am going to confine most of my remarks about fund-raising preparation to corporate and foundation sectors as opposed to federal agencies. However, if federal funding possibilities interest you, I will share recommendations that you might find useful.

One acceptable -- and maybe the best -- definition for American philanthropy is the Internal Revenue Service's policy statement(s) on charitable, i.e., tax deductible gifts:

> You may deduct gifts to (a) religious, charitable, educational, scientific, or literary organizations, for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals, unless the organization is operated for personal profit or a substantial part of its activities consists of propaganda or attempting to influence legislation...(d) governmental agencies that will use the gifts exclusively for public purposes, including civil defense...
>
> You may not deduct gifts to--relatives, friends, or other individuals: foreign organizations; political organizations or candidates; social clubs; labor unions; chambers of commerce; or propaganda organizations.

Mindful of the preceding IRS ruling and armed with a 501(c)(3) designation, most universities as well as interest groups such as the Association of Black Administrators at M.I.T. qualify to solicit gifts (and grants) from corporations, foundations, and individuals.

The following recommendations are for persons interested in obtaining federal grants. First, I recommend you learn how to do your own research, write proposals, and establish an effective relationship with both the federal relations and development directors at your institution. Second, get on the mailing list of and establish a dialogue with the federal agency that can best support your project. The M.I.T. Association of Black Administrators, for example, may find it helpful to know either the staff person for black minority concerns or the minority utilization officer in federal agencies. Additional information sources include the following:

1. the catalogue of Federal and Domestic Assistance (CFDA);
2. the Commerce Business Daily (CBD);
3. the Federal Register; and
4. the U.S. Legislative Office, House of the Clerk "Hotline" - (202) 225-1772.

Information about these resources can be obtained from the U.S. Government Printing Office in Washington, D.C., (202) 275-2051; also congressmen and senators are known for helping their constituents obtain related data. Finally, Dr. James B. Gunnell, director of the Virginia State University Computer Center and a federal proposal reader and consultant, states that it is imperative for institutions to develop and maintain a "grants readiness system." The system should address four basic points: competing proposals; meeting federal agency requirements; rejecting proposals; and understanding the need for a proposal readiness system.

The Foundation

There are two questions that should be answered thoroughly if a person is seeking either a foundation gift or a corporation grant: first, "How do I prepare myself?" and second, "What will the program officer look for?" Furthermore, a standard fund-raising principle is "people give to people!" Let us consider these points.

Self-preparation (by the individual, college, or organization) requires determining the project/program, identifying the need, and understanding the nature of both the foundation and the corporation. The former, generally, is interested in establishing and enhancing programs which have a favorable impact on the general welfare: "Does the project have transferral potential?" "Is the project unique and national in scope?"

Foundation spending is distributed, according to Virginia P. White (author of Grants, "How to Find Out About Them and What to Do Next"), in the following order: education, 36%; health, 24%; sciences, 12%; welfare, 9%; international affairs, 9%; humanities, 8%; and religion, 2%.

The Foundation Directory, 8th edition, groups foundations into four categories: (1) independent, (2) company-sponsored foundations, (3) operating foundations, and (4) community foundations. (See The Foundation Directory for information about category descriptions, sources of funds, decision-making bodies, grant-making activities, and reporting requirements.)

The Corporation

Proposal writers will find it helpful to note that corporate giving patterns differ from those of the foundation. Giving is influenced significantly by factors such as the following: the need to generate good publicity; interest in improving the community where it has operations, and interest in quality employee benefits.

Three informative works on "corporate social responsibility" are the following:

1. Chamberlain, Neil W. The Limits of Corporate Responsibility. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1973.
2. Chagy, Gideon. The New Patrons of the Arts. New York: Harry Abrams, Inc., 1972.
3. Blumberg, Phillip I. Corporate Responsibility In a Changing Society: "Essays on Corporate Social Responsibility." Boston: Boston University School of Law, 1972.

Approaching the Donor Prospect

When you, the grant seeker, are ready to write your proposal, about 80 percent of your work should be finished. To paraphrase Thomas Broce, author of Fund Raising (University of Oklahoma Press), you should have identified your donor prospect; gathered all pertinent information; elicited reasonable donor interest in your project; involved the prospect in project-related activity; and activated resources which enhance the possibility of the donor's prospect for investment in your project.

Virginia P. White says there are three phases in the process of applying for grant funds: preapplication or preliminary, submission of the proposal/application, and decision-making or postapplication. The preapplication phase is two simultaneous and synchronous procedures involving (a) consultation with institutional or organizational officials, and (b) consultation with the donor prospect. The application phase consists of the formal preparation and submission of the proposal. Grantors have their own procedure or form for applications. The postapplication phase consists of a review and the processing of the application.

Finally, Edwin Dieckmann, director of development for the Cleveland Institute of Art, reminds grant seekers that numerous applications are rejected because of inadequate planning and careless preparation. He offers the following suggestions for a successful proposal.

1. Come to the point immediately in the first paragraph by stating the amount requested and the purpose.
2. Make the proposal as short as possible, providing details only in appendices.

3. Present the request in terms of "special circumstances" to justify the grant. (Foundations ordinarily do not respond to routine requests for research, training, equipment purchase, or general support.)

4. Demonstrate how the foundation's support will (a) supplement other support, (b) generate support from other sources, (c) revolutionize processes, (d) provide special benefits to many for a relatively small investment, and so on.

5. Do not expect the foundation to continue program support over a long period of time. In general, foundations conceive of themselves as promoters of innovation, not as perpetual sponsors of universities or other agencies.

6. When asking for a renewal grant, be sure to express appreciation for the previous support, and document the results achieved.

7. Develop a line-item budget showing how the grant monies will be used to achieve the goals described in the proposal. The budget must be adequate to cover the expected expenses, but not unreasonably high. Include both direct and indirect costs.

Effective Educational Fund Raising

With the advent of black grants under President Reagan's "New Federalism," traditional sources of federal support will be distributed by state governments. This policy change has profound implications for educational institutions and organizations. At minimum, the state block grant arrangement means fund raisers must research and gain the support of state officials with strategies heretofore reserved for federal agencies.

The need for effective educational fund raising is probably more crucial now than any other time in American history. Professional educational entities, such as the National Educational Association, have documented anticipated drops in student enrollment and have determined the impact of this shortage on the budgets of educational institutions.

Secondly, the 1981 Tax Act provides disincentives for philanthropy. For example, the previous tax law provided for foundations to spend their full investment income or the equivalent of a return of 5 percent of the fair market value of assets, whichever is larger. However, the 1981 giving average of only 1.29% for foundations is typical of the foundation giving record under the previous tax law. The new tax law raises the 5 percent to 10 percent. The latter is not an inducement for "liberal" philanthropy, according to G. P. Saunders, Esq. of the Washington, D.C. law firm of Ginsberg, Feldman, Weil and Bress.

The 1981 Tax Act will cause private contributions - to education, churches, service organizations, etc. - to decline over the next four years by $18.3 billion in current dollar terms, and $9.9 billion in constant dollar terms, below what they would have been under prior law, according to a recent study by the Urban Institute (The Federal Government and the Non-Profit Sector: "The Impact of the 1981 Tax Act on Individual Charitable Giving"). In the final analysis, says the Independent Sector Organization (Washington, D.C.), the 1981 Tax Act advantages (or disadvantages) will depend on two things: (1) how well-informed and effective each executive, fund raising staff person, and volunteer solicitor becomes, and (2) how supportive the organization's leadership is.

Charitable solicitation in the 1980's means detailed preparation and campaign packaging. Careful packaging for fund raising success includes strategies such as outright gifts, gifts of life insurance, in-kind gifts, and retained income gifts including charitable remainder unitrust or annuity trust and pooled income funds.

Career Possibilities in Fund Raising

Fund raising is an art! I enjoy it and recommend the profession to any man or woman serious about exploring a challenging career. Institutional advancement work (development or fund raising, alumni affairs, communications, etc.) cuts across many disciplines and requires numerous skills such as research, writing, planning, organizing, and public speaking. Do you like people? Can you train and motivate volunteers? Are you interested in tax law? If "yes" is your answer to the previous questions, you may be the person for this profession.

Upward mobility and salary vary from institution. Compensation, however, is competitive with that of top level college and university officers. Attractive positions as consultants are available also for skilled fund raisers with proven track records. Additional career data about the development or institutional advancement professions can be obtained from Adelphi University, the Association of Black Foundation Executives (Indianapolis, Ind.), Women and Foundation/Corporate Philanthropy (New York City) and the Counsel for the Advancement & Support of Education (Washington, D.C.).

In closing, I want to again thank the Association of Black Administrators at M.I.T. for inviting me to share these remarks with you.

APPENDICES

Writing Grant Proposals

Brodsky, Jean, ed. 1973. The Proposal Writer's Swipe File. Twelve professionally written grant proposals -- prototypes of approaches, styles, and structures. Taft Products, Inc., 1000 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

Krathwohl, David R. 1966. How to Prepare a Research Proposal. Syracuse University Bookstore, 303 University Place, Syracuse, New York 13210. $1.00 per copy.

MacIntyre, Michael. 1971. How to Write a Proposal. Education, Training and Research Sciences Corp., Washington, D.C. (A subsidiary of Volt Information Sciences, Inc., New York, New York).

Masterman, Louis E. 1973. The Mechanics of Writing Successful Federal Grant Applications. Missouri Institute of Psychiatry, University of Missouri School of Medicine.

The Research Foundation of the State University of New York. 1973, The Application Procedure. Box 7126, Albany, New York 12224.

Urgo, Louis A. 1972. A Manual for Obtaining Government Grants. Robert J. Corcoran Company, 40 Court Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02108.

Urgo, Louis A. and Robert J. Corcoran, 1971. A Manual for Obtaining Foundation Grants. Robert J. Corcoran Company, 40 Court Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02108.

References for Career Information in the Institutional Advancement and/or Development Profession

Women and Foundations/Corporate Philanthropy
70 W. 40th Street
New York, New York 10018
Joanne Hayes, Executive Director (212) 759-7712

Association of Black Foundation Executives
2801 North Meridian
Indianapolis, Indiana 46206
Contact: Charles Blair (317) 925-5471

Hispanics in Philanthropy
c/o The James Irvin Foundation
1 Market Place
Steuart Tower, Suite 2305
San Francisco, California 94015
Contact: Luz Vega (415) 777-2244

National Network of Grant Makers
919 North Michigan Avenue
5th Floor
Chicago, Illinois 60611

CASE (Council for Advancement and Support of Education)
Suite 400
11 Dupont Circle
Washington, D.C. 20036
Contact: Dr. James Fisher, President (202) 328-5900

Partial List of Information on Graduate Programs in Institutional Advancement

You should contact these institutions directly to be certain the programs are still being offered.*

Adelphi University Garden City, New York 11530	Certificate program in fund raising, Division of Special Programs
Alabama University University, Alabama 35486	Dept. of Higher Education
Boston University Boston, Massachusetts 02215	School of Public Communications
Glassboro State College Glassboro, New Jersey 08028	Department of Communications
Michigan State University East Lansing, Michigan 48824	Dept. of Higher Education
North Texas State University Denton, Texas 76203	Dept. of Higher Education
Nova University Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33314	Center for Higher Education
New School for Social Research New York, New York 10011	Fund raising
Virginia Polytechnic Institute Blacksburg, Virginia 24061	College of Education
West Virginia University Morganstown, West Virginia 26506	School of Journalism or Dept. of Educational Administration

*Data provided by CASE. Contact Dr. John Kuhnle, Vice President, for further details. (202) 328-5900.

OUTLOOK FOR FUNDING FROM FOUNDATIONS AND PHILANTHROPIC AGENCIES

Bruce E. Williams

Any paper on the topic of "Outlook for Funding from Foundations and Philanthropic Agencies" given within the context of a conference on issues facing black administrators at predominantly white colleges and universities must address the question from the standpoint of the outlook for funding for black concerns, black issues, and black activities. It stands to reason also that any such presentation must address the subject of support for these programs from the standpoint of the two major places in higher education where blacks are found; i.e., in predominantly white colleges and universities and in the historically black colleges and universities.

Because of my association with the Rockefeller Foundation for the past ten years, my comments will of necessity address this question as I see it based on my experiences with that organization. Nothing that I say in this paper, however, should be construed to be the policy (unless otherwise stated) of the foundation community in general or of the Rockefeller Foundation.

Background

It seems appropriate at this point that I should give you the background and history of the organization that I work for and also share with you some information about its sister foundation, the General Education Board. These two philanthropic agencies, in my judgment, have done as much for black higher education as any in the world.

The Rockefeller Foundation is a private philanthropic organization endowed by John D. Rockefeller and chartered in 1913. Its purpose is "to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world." During its early years the foundation worked chiefly in the areas of public health and medical education; later it expanded to include the fields of agricultural, natural and social sciences, and the arts and humanities. Today, the foundation has five program areas: arts, humanities and contemporary values; conquest of hunger; equal opportunity; international relations; and population and health.

The program guidelines and financial policy of the foundation are developed by an independent board of trustees which meets several times during the year.

Method of Operation

The Rockefeller Foundation is both a granting and an operating foundation. This means that its activities are carried out through the awarding of grants and fellowships, as well as the operation of field programs and the dissemination of knowledge through publications.

The foundation receives almost 10,000 grant applications (proposals) for funding each year; but because of the limited funds available, awards only about 500 grants. (During recent years there has been a substantial increase in the number of requests.) The criteria for the evaluation of requests are relevance of the project to the foundation's program objectives and potential for contributing significantly to the well-being of mankind; extent of the applicant's effort to secure additional and subsequent funding from other sources; and the applicant's record of achievement.

Fellowships

The Rockefeller Foundation has operated a fellowship program for more than 65 years. Under this program almost 15,000 outstanding men and women have been selected from all over the world for training in fields of interest defined by foundation policy. These regular fellowship awards are administered by the foundation's fellowship office and are awarded almost entirely to candidates who are on staff or potential staff members of developing country institutions with which the foundation has cooperative programs.

In addition to the regular fellowship programs, the foundation operates a number of "Special Fellowship Awards." These are administered by the foundation's various programs and are open to qualified applicants on a competitive basis. The following is a listing of current Special Fellowship Programs.

A. Fellowship Program in the Humanities - to support humanistic scholarship intended to illuminate and assess social and cultural values and major issues of the contemporary world.

B. Fellowship Program in International Relations - to support analysis by young post-doctoral scholars of alternative policies in two interrelated areas (international security and international economic relations) which are likely to affect international relations in the 1980's.

C. Fellowship Program for American Playwrights - to support residencies of young, creative playwrights in recognized American theaters.

D. Fellowship Program for Minority-Group Scholars - to support research designed to influence the understanding and resolution of minority-group issues.

E. Fellowships in Population Sciences - for advanced training in reproductive biology/medicine and in population studies in demography.

Early History

During its first years, the Rockefeller Foundation worked in tandem with its sister foundation, known as the General Education Board (GEB). Because the GEB specialized in education, the matter of black education was left to it. Between 1902 and 1960, the General Education Board made grants totaling $41,410,399 to 88 black colleges and universities including grants of $2,277,517 to the United Negro College Fund. Awards ranged from $500 to Cheyney State to $5,833,296 to Atlanta University (other Atlanta University Center institutions received awards as follows: Black, $1,167,385; Interdenominational Theological Center, $935,000; Morehouse, $1,910,720; Morris Brown, $403,980; and Spelman, $3,542,619). In addition, the Atlanta University Center received $6 million from the Rockefeller family members and other Rockefeller boards.

When the General Education Board "folded its tent" as a grant-making foundation in 1960, the Rockefeller Foundation began to question itself as to whether or not it should align itself with efforts to eliminate discrimination against blacks exclusively or even primarily through support for black colleges. One argument for such support was particularly convincing: "for a considerable period to come, these colleges would be the main source of higher educational opportunities for black high school graduates." On the other side of the discussion, however, there were some who felt that it would be more appropriate and productive for the foundation to help "open the doors" of the country's leading institutions of higher education to blacks. (The foundation had already started this effort and had appropriated more than $7½ million to 18 institutions which had provided support for 1,340 disadvantaged college students.)

After much discussion, the foundation made a grant of $2.5 million to UNCF's special fund raising campaign and thus started the foundation's commitment "to strengthening Negro Colleges." This commitment resulted in grants totaling more than $8.2 million to black colleges during the next eight to ten years.

Funding Projections for the 1980's from Foundations

When measured in terms of needs (the amount of requests), the funding projections for the 1980's are in a word, dismal. Americans on the other hand (individuals, foundations, and corporations) have an annual compulsion for giving. Since before the crash of the stock market and continuing through the depression, recessions and wars, we have always managed to increase our giving each year. In 1970, for example, the total amount given by all U.S. foundations was $1.9 billion. This figure has climbed steadily each year to $2.4 billion for 1980. The rate of growth for foundations has not been as fast as the rate of growth for corporations or for individual givers. Corporations during that same period went from $797 million to $2.55 billion.

There is some expectation that private philanthropy could compensate for some of the losses from government cutbacks by increased awards in areas such as research, education, culture, social welfare, etc. This will not happen. Lee Smith points out in a September, 1981 article in Fortune Magazine, "corporate philanthropy will not come close to filling those expectations. If corporations gave the maximum the Internal Revenue Service allows them to deduct - 5% of taxable income - their contributions would amount to only about $12 billion, or roughly a third of the reduction in planned federal spending for fiscal 1982." As far as foundations are concerned, the expectation is that their grant-making ability will be substantially reduced rather than increased over the next several years. Further, it is highly unlikely that foundations given their method of operation would be willing to allow their funding agendas to be established by outside agencies, including the federal government.

Impact of the Economy on Foundation Giving

A number of factors already have combined to drastically reduce the funds available for awards given by the nation's foundations. While there are several factors, let me mention only three. First, the cost of operating has increased substantially. Foundations, like other agencies within the broad society, are not immune to the impact of inflation on their operation. The cost of telephones, travel, rent, and in the case of international foundations, the staggering costs of maintaining overseas staff have increased the operating costs which in turn reduces the funds available for grant awards. A second factor is that this has been accompanied by a substantial decline in the income from foundation portfolios. As is true with most endowed institutions, a major percentage of the endowment is invested in equity accounts. Most equity accounts for the last several years have experienced very disappointing annual performance. It has been stated that adjusted for income distributed, many endowments for the past five years have been losing ground at approximately 10% per year in real terms. Finally, the third point is that with federal cutbacks, many worthwhile agencies are looking to new sources for support: the number of requests annually received by foundations has already doubled, and in some cases, probably tripled. As the cuts continue to take effect, this trend is likely to be exacerbated. These combinations of factors, in my judgment, suggest that the outlook in general is bad. Foundations find themselves in the unenviable position of having reduced income, increasing costs of doing business resulting in less money for awards, and having the number of requests for funds increasing at least threefold.

What is this likely to mean for black programs and institutions? Already more and more donor agencies have stopped thinking and talking in terms of "strengthening the black colleges" or "support for black programs." The rhetoric now asks the question, "Do the programs they (the institutions) want supported fit within the guidelines of the foundation?" In other words, black programs and institutions will have to tailor their requests to the guidelines and priorities of the donor. We will have to be sure we are asking the right question. We should stop asking whether foundation X, Y, or Z is supporting black colleges. Very few foundations are supporting black colleges, just as very few foundations are supporting white colleges. Instead, they support projects, programs, and activities.

PART TWO

SERVING TWO MASTERS

OVERVIEW

Shirley McBay

President Frederick Humphries of Tennessee State University initiated the discussion of the "Serving Two Masters" theme at the luncheon on Friday, June 25th. As with the other three major themes of the conference, there were several (five) concurrent workshops in the afternoon on "Serving Two Masters." In addition, there was a sixth workshop on career patterns of black administrators held at the same time with Dr. Walter Stafford of the National Urban League as presenter.

The concurrent workshops for "Serving Two Masters" provided the respective perspectives of (1) a black administrator of an urban institution within a predominantly white institution (Dr. Elmer Washington of Chicago State University); (2) a black president of a predominantly white institution (President Richard Turner of South Central Community College); (3) a black administrator with a minority-focused function at a predominantly white institution (Vice Provost Frank Hale of Ohio State University); and (4) a black administrator with a non-minority focused function at a predominantly white institution (Associate Provost Marion Oliver of the University of Pennsylvania). The fifth workshop, conducted by Dean Willie Kimmons of Wayne County Community College, focused on the related topic, "Keeping One's Identity as a Black Person While Maintaining Credibility within both the Black and White Communities."

Presenters and participants in these workshops gave both anecdotal as well as statistical evidence to support their descriptions of dilemmas faced by black administrators who are trying to carry out their basic job responsibilities while meeting simultaneous and often conflicting demands from blacks and whites at their institutions. Dilemmas include the need for black administrators with minority-focused functions to identify and develop special support programs for black students while at the same time having the obligation to encourage black students to get involved in and take advantage of institutional support services and extracurricular activities. The latter becomes especially difficult when the administrator's own job threatens to become unnecessary if he or she succeeds in accomplishing the desired degree of mainstream involvement.

Among the hurdles that black administrators in non-minority focused positions must overcome are those created by both black and white staff members as the administrators attempt to carry out their responsibilities in departments or throughout their institutions while remaining sensitive to but not becoming mired in minority-focused issues on campus.

Several presenters and participants offered concrete suggestions that would be helpful in coping with dilemmas such as these as well as dealing with tension and overall job stress. Some of the more obvious suggestions, and for some people some of the more difficult to carry out, included maintaining good health habits with respect to sleep, exercise, and diet; separating work and non-work lives; talking through issues with peers as well as with colleagues outside the institution; and periodicallly withdrawing physically from the job situation.

SERVING TWO MASTERS: PERSPECTIVE OF A BLACK PRESIDENT OF A HISTORICALLY BLACK INSTITUTION WITHIN A PREDOMINANTLY WHITE SYSTEM

Frederick Humphries

To Dean John Turner, Special Assistant Clarence G. Williams, distinguished educators and members of the Association of Black Administrators, guests, and friends. It is good to be with you and to bring you greetings from the faculty, staff, and administration of Tennessee State University in Nashville, Tennessee. I am happy to be a part of this First National Conference on Issues Facing Black Administrators at Predominantly White Colleges and Universities, and although I am from a historically black university, I believe that my experiences in dealing with common issues shared by black administrators on an integrated campus may be instructive.

Whether we admit it or not, we are all faced with the common concerns of upward mobility, interaction with black and white colleagues, professional training, supervising white staff members, responding to the needs of black students and "Serving Two Masters." This is true whether we are black administrators working in black institutions governed by white supervisors, or black administrators working in predominantly white institutions that are governed by white supervisors. I would like to give you my perspective on "Serving Two Masters" as the President of the largest historically black institution in Tennessee, Tennessee State University, one of the most desegregated institutions of higher education in the South.

Black Americans have made impressive educational gains since Brown vs Board of Education in 1954. In 1940, only one in ten blacks had completed high school; by 1969 this number had risen to three in ten, and by 1975, seven out of ten black Americans had completed high school. This same progress can be seen in the access black Americans have had to higher education since 1950. In 1950, for example, only five percent of the population between 18 and 24 had completed college; but by 1975 this number had risen to twenty percent of the population. The rate for whites completing college was fifteen percent in 1950 and thirty percent in 1975. Between these same two dates there was a 380 percent increase in the number of black men who received four or more years of college. Although the number of black Americans who go to college and complete four or more years of college continues to increase, their underrepresentation in higher education continues to pose serious problems.

Thus, 1954 has to be viewed as a pivotal year in the history of education not only for blacks, but for all minorities. The onset of the full judicial implementation for destruction of "separate but equal" and its consequences was begun. The Brown decision not only led to the undermining of segregated school systems throughout the South, but it also unleashed a wave of new social commitments in the nation that led to the general improvement of black Americans.

Such activities were associated with "Affirmative Action," "Special Recruitment Programs," and the "Equal Educational Opportunity" concepts or belief that college attendance should be independent of economic conditions or restrictions. Special recruitment programs were at first funded by private philanthropy and foundations, while the equal educational opportunity concept led to activities by the federal government that produced the National Defense Education Act in 1958, the Higher Education Act in 1965, and the Amendment in 1972 that ushered in the federal initiative in financial aid programs.

BEOG, (Pell Grant today), NDSL, SEOG, College Work Study, and Guaranteed Student Loans became familiar educational terms that indicated the commitment the federal government has toward equal access of minorities to higher education.

The effect of this initiative was especially important in the South where, in 1953, there were only 253 blacks enrolled in the twenty-two white public colleges, while the historically black institutions enrolled more than 63,000. In fact, as late as 1960, 96 percent of all black college students in the South were in the historically black institutions, while only 3,000 were enrolled in historically white institutions. However, by 1965, this number increased to more than 24,000, and between 1965 and 1970, black enrollment at white institutions increased by 83 percent (from 134,000 to 245,000), falling from 82 percent in 1970 to 43 percent in 1976 in black institutions. In 1980-82, of the 1,106,321 blacks enrolled in college, 55 percent were in the South, 45 percent outside the South, and 59 percent of the 403,800 were enrolled in black four-year institutions.

As the black student population increased at the historically white colleges and universities throughout the nation, there was a demand made for greater representation of black faculty and administrators in the institutions. Thus, the employment opportunities for black educators increased and resulted in a significant number of blacks being hired in administrative and faculty positions from which they had been formerly barred. Many of these positions were in the area of special programs or as "assistant," "special assistant," or "associate" administrators. Black administrators were rarely appointed to mainline administrative positions.

Black access to graduate and professional education has not exhibited the same progress that has been achieved at the undergraduate level. According to Office for Civil Rights statistics, the proportion of black full-time students in graduate and professional schools reached a peak of 5.3 percent in 1974, then fell to 4.9 percent in 1976, and 4.7 percent in 1978. Similarly, the black proportion of first-year graduate students, which stood at 6.4 percent in 1976, declined to 6.1 percent in 1978. Evidence of this recent decline is also provided by the National Research Council's reports on doctorate recipients. From a crest of 1,109 or 3.5 percent of the total in 1977, the number of doctorates awarded to blacks slipped to 1,029, or 3.3 percent, in 1978, and increased only slightly to 1,050, or 3.4 percent in 1979. Similarly, black enrollment in professional schools, principally medicine and law, exhibited persistent, if unspectacular gains until the mid-1970's. Lately, however, the proportion, and in some instances, the actual number of black professional students in these fields has begun to decline.

The reasons for the apparent stagnation in the advancement of equity in post-baccalaureate education are varied and complex, but, as a starting point, emanate from a single source-a deterioration of the social commitment to equality in higher education.

The report of the National Committee on Blacks in Higher Education, A Losing Battle: The Decline in Black Participation in Graduate and Professional Education, documented the deteriorating situation involving black students in advanced education. The statistical data presented in the report indicates that 1976-77 stands as the turning point for black graduate participation; actual enrollment and proportional representation has declined since then. It is apparent that the impetus for increased access to and survival in graduate and professional schools had faded by the mid-70's.

Other statistics point out the plight of blacks in professional schools, but none compare with the situation found in science and engineering. The National Science Foundation (NSF), in its support for development of minority scientists and engineers, has expressed alarm at the low level of representation among black students in these fields. The NSF asserts this indicates an extensive human resource pool insufficiently tapped at the very time the country needs to marshall all of its talents to deal with the numerous fundamental and technical problems the U.S. faces.

The same case can be made concerning minorities in the health professions. Indeed, there remains a critical national shortage of minority health professionals. The effects of this shortage were documented in a recent study by the Institute of Medicine of the National Academy of Sciences entitled, "Health Care in the Context of Civil Rights." The study showed that, in spite of significantly higher incidents of neonatal and infant mortality, maternal mortality, hypertension, cancer, diabetes, and other diseases, blacks still see private physicians and dentists less often than whites do and have fewer, and inferior health care facilities available to them, including hospitals and nursing homes. While the need for black health professionals is well-documented, we find black institutions and the goals of increasing the number of black and other minority health professionals threatened and thwarted by insufficient financial resources for black students and their institutions. Students in black health care institutions at Howard, Morehouse, and Meharry are dedicated and talented young people from diverse backgrounds. However, most are from families whose annual income is less than $15,000. As a result, more than 90% of these students require some form of financial aid if they are to become the health professionals so needed by the nation. Most of the financial aid available to them has been from federal sources, including Health Professions Student Loans (HPSL), National Direct Student Loans (NDSL), exceptional financial need scholarships, and Guaranteed Student Loans (GSL) which are presently being eliminated or reduced by the current administration.

The Alexander Astin study, "Final Report of the Commission on the Higher Education of Minorities," noted the importance of financial assistance for blacks in graduate school with the observation that it has become a critical issue because of declines in federal and private financial support in recent years. Our analysis revealed that financial aid facilitates entry to and completion of graduate school. Respondents to the commission's survey of minority educators identified financial concerns as a major obstacle to graduate school attendance. A large proportion of the Ford Fellows said that receiving the fellowship award enabled them to attend the graduate schools of their choice and to stay in school once they had enrolled. The 1980 follow-up of 1971 freshmen indicated that minority respondents who had attended graduate school were far less satisfied with the financial aid counseling they had received than were their white counterparts. Almost as important as the availability of financial aid was its form. Teaching, administrative, and research assistantships that promote professional development were found preferable to loans, which do little to encourage students to participate in the apprenticeship that is such an important aspect of the graduate experience.

Among other things the report recommended that the federal, state, and institutional policy makers increase financial aid for minority students at the graduate and professional levels; that federal, state, and private agencies consider implementing challenge grant programs; and that federal and state policy makers give increased attention to the nation's long-term needs for highly skilled academic, research, and technical workers.

It is within this context of declining commitment on the part of American society to the educational aspirations of blacks that the issues of black administrators on white college campuses must be viewed. The increased number of black students on traditional white campuses, the development of special programs to support their survival, and the desire to make significant scholarly and administrative contributions are all issues that have an impact on the well being of black administrators.

One of the major problems confronting black administrators on white college campuses centers around the attitude of a majority of their white colleagues toward black students. The majority of these students enter higher education not as well prepared and without the financial resources of their white counterparts. In spite of these disadvantages, it is important that they succeed if equal educational opportunity is to become a reality. As administrators, we are familiar with their high attrition rates and know the results of their poverty. In too many instances these students find themselves "aliens" in the higher education promised land where not only are certain assumptions made concerning their intellectual ability to succeed, but their right to be at the institution is also questioned.

These perceptions were given factual basis in a study by Larry Jones that was commissioned by the Southern Regional Education Board. In "Black Students Enrolled in White Colleges and Universities: Their Attitudes and Perceptions," Jones found that most black students on white college campuses felt that black faculty and administrators were generally supportive of them and their activities, "but the faculty as a whole (presumably mostly white) was less than helpful, a bit biased, and less than knowledgeable about minority contributions in their fields of study." Thus, as they enter the white institutions, black students are confronted by a wide variety of white views and perceptions concerning their ability to achieve.

In this atmosphere, the problem of "Serving Two Masters" becomes acute for those black administrators and faculty who push to open the door for more black students. This is especially true if it is believed that these students are to be admitted under criteria other than grades and SAT scores. While the results of the Astin study on the higher education of minorities show that test scores add little beyond high school grades in predicting performance and success of minority students during their undergraduate years, black faculty and administrators who support special admission for black students generally meet opposition from their white colleagues who believe that if these students are admitted at all, they should be admitted under the same criteria as other students.

Having admitted these students the question has to be asked, Does the institution have a moral responsibility to help them adjust to this new environment? On a few college campuses this question has been answered in the affirmative. Black studies programs have flourished alongside the Afro-American student union buildings. Both have been attempts to address some of the social and personal needs of black faculty and students. In addition to giving both blacks and whites a new perspective on the total American experience, black studies has contributed to the college community's enriched awareness of black literature, art, and music.

Nevertheless, black students more often than not find themselves on college campuses where the predominant administrative attitude is that nothing additional is required to meet their special needs in adjusting to the new environment. Those black faculty and administrators who are aware of the necessity of support programs and structures must constantly fight for them. The extra cost that is generated if the campaign is successful creates more problems which become increasingly acute in times of tight dollars. Many white administrators would prefer to see spending reduced in such areas of special programs and more spent on what they consider programs of academic excellence.

Yet for those black faculty and administrators who work in the area of special programs for blacks, their jobs should not represent a problem of "serving two masters." This is especially true since their positions are directly related to the social and educational well-being of black students. An example would be those employed in equal opportunity programs designed to meet the needs of blacks and other minorities who enter the institution under different criteria than their white classmates. There are many blacks assigned to these programs on the white college campuses as directors, counselors, and a few as faculty members.

The real question is not one of "serving two masters," but one of motivation and advancement on the part of these black administrators. It is a question as to whether working in special programs that cater to black and minority students can lead to greater advancement in the administrative structure of the institution beyond special programs. Do their management skills allow them access to other positions in the institution? Given the status of thought toward special programs in the historically white institutions, can one move from special programs to academic, research, or graduate administration? For example, it has been clear in the past that whites who became presidents of historically black institutions and later presidents of historically white institutions were not prohibited from becoming successful because they had gained much of their administrative experiences at a historically black institution. Specifically, Gallagher, the president of Talledaga, later became president of City College, and Marvin Watkins went from the presidency of Lincoln University to Temple University from which he is now retiring. The basic question is, if you sign on as a black administrator in special programs at a white institution, are you serving a position where you can be promoted to a higher administrative position because of managerial skills that are desirable in the handling of other problems in the university?

I believe that in order for this to occur it will be necessary for special programs and positions associated with minority students to be viewed by the institution in the same light as other programs or positions in higher education. I share the Astin view that "evaluation should be the key component of any minority-oriented program, not only because well-designed evaluative research provides vital feedback to guide both program personnel and funding agencies but also because objective evidence of program efficacy can serve to protect the most effective programs in times of budgetary austerity."

The implication of all of this to the black administrator on white college campuses is that a new dimension will have to be introduced in the evaluation of these programs. The major problem in the evaluation of these special programs is an institutional problem. Rarely is the quality of these institutions evaluated on the basis of how well they operate their minority or special programs. If, for example, it was determined that English was taught poorly at a major institution, it would be a serious problem and decision makers would move immediately to correct the problem. No institution would tolerate this because it strikes at the academic heart of the institution. On the other hand, these same decision makers often tolerate inadequately funded and poorly managed minority programs.

Black administrators must build into these programs the same level of anxiety among decision makers for their excellence as that associated with traditional academic programs. For those who work in this special program environment it would be an appropriate way to move up the administrative ladder since the handling of these programs would demonstrate general managerial skills and knowledge.

For those blacks who occupy clear-cut administrative positions related to the general function of the institution, there should be no conflict in "serving two masters." They have no recourse but to do the very best job within the responsibilities outlined in their assignments. A dean, vice president, director, or similar official has no alternative but to be the chief administrator in the area. It should be the general expectation that the tough decisions involved in these positions will not become ensnared with the overall status of black students on campus. They must be sympathetic, of course, but they cannot afford to have their positions regarded as "black positions." The same is true of faculty members who use the argument that by accepting a position at a majority institution they can make a significant contribution to their field to get "bogged down" in dealing with minority issues and demand that such work be used to ameliorate their academic tenure decision. They were hired to do general academic responsibilities and should not use such activities as a reason or excuse for not meeting the academic qualifications they were hired to perform. I submit that there is only one course of action in this regard and that is to meet the academic requirements of the institution.

Another issue confronting black administrators is the question of working at historically black institutions. Every black person who is sensitive to the fact of race in American society and aware of the history of black institutions will at some point have to face the dilemma of where he or she should cast his or her professional lot, at a black or white institution. Many well-trained and accomplished black faculty and administrators share a belief that they ought to make their contributions at a historically white institution. The fact that this is done leaves many of them with a feeling of guilt.

Many black faculty and administrators at the historically white institutions often find that there is an internal conflict concerning the nature of their employment. There is often the question as to whether they were hired on their own merit or whether they were hired by the central administration to meet black student demands or affirmative action goals. Many are often plagued with the uncertainty inherent in their position as "assistant," or "associate" which tends to affect their relationships with their colleagues, black and white. After careful analysis, I think the situation must be seen from a positive point of view. I think we must ask ourselves, "does it really matter" whether one is appointed to a position he or she might otherwise not have been considered for because of affirmative action if the person has the ability to perform the responsibilities outlined in the job description? On the lighter side, but no less psychologically damaging to black administrators on white college campuses, is their use to give "respectability" to the educational and social functions of the institution involving blacks by being resident experts on everything remotely related to the black population.

Finally, there is a feeling among black administrators and faculty at white institutions that if they work or administer at these institutions they will not be considered for high level positions at historically black institutions and that there is a limit to how high they may go in their educational career. It should be remembered, however, that several presidents of historically black institutions came to their positions from desegregated settings, among them Edward Fort, President of North Carolina A & T who came from the Wisconsin Community College system; Lloyd Hackley, Chancellor of the University of Arkansas-Pine Bluff who came from the central administration of the University of North Carolina system; President Donald Stewart, Spellman College, who came from the University of Pennsylvania, President Leonard Spearman, Texas Southern

University, who came from the government as an associate commissioner in Washington, and the President of Alabama State who came from a predominantly white institution. It would appear that in these instances there was a belief that the management skills necessary to successfully operate at historically white institutions can be developed as well as at a historically black institution.

I believe that it is important that black faculty, staff, and administrators, no matter where they are located, make every effort in the interest of racial progress for black Americans. We should be constantly reminded against creating artificial divisions among ourselves. We are all concerned with a common goal of improving the opportunities for blacks in higher education. In this regard, I believe it is extremely important that we concern ourselves with the institutional health of the historically black institution.

We cannot expect black progress without the continued strength of these institutions. It will be important for black faculty and administrators in white institutions to understand both the need for these institutions and the employment opportunities they offer black administrators with doctorate degrees and who represent the best in their fields. Such students should be encouraged to seek employment in black institutions if their skills represent a need. While it is important that we produce outstanding individuals who can make it on anybody's terms, it is more important to develop strong institutions.

It would be helpful for black institutions to have friends in the majority institutions to serve as agents and speak on their behalf and to encourage their students to apply to these institutions as a place to work, just as it is done in other institutions. It is crucial to have this cooperation if the black institutions are to maintain their viability. At present, these schools represent three percent of all of the institutions in the United States. Their total enrollment of over 200,000 students is declining more rapidly than student populations at white schools. And this declining enrollment is shifting from a preponderance of high-ability students to an increasing number of poor students who have not been adequately prepared by their high schools to do college level work--students who demand and require much more attention from administrators and faculty.

The role of higher education as the means to the advancement of the social and economic status of blacks and other minorities is not over. There is much that remains to be done. For us, as black administrators, faculty, and staff, we must continue to answer the clarion call. Amidst the frustrations, the abundently clear development of decreased support for equal opportunity, the lack of progress of advancement in higher education for black administrators, the nontenuring of black faculty, the uncertainty of commitment to the continued requirement of quality education for blacks and other minorities, the demonstrated lack of effective approaches to redistribute black students--undergraduates and graduates--from education and social science to scientific, technological, and managerial areas, we must persevere. The cause is fair: our aims are just. The search for sharing equally in the full spectrum of higher education is a goal that must not succumb to the vicissitudes of the times. In our reflection on this theme several points appear to be clear.

(1) We must learn to cope with serving two masters, but with the understanding that each of our roles will be different depending on the nature of the positions we choose to accept. Each role, although having different requirements, must continue to the overall positive development of black people. There appears to be no escape from the evaluation of one's job as a black vis-a-vis person.

(2) The real or unreal division of blacks in higher education into blacks who work at historically white institutions and blacks who work in historically black institutions serves no useful purpose to the continued advancement of black participation in higher education. In fact, the welding of these entities into a single whole will have greater effect on our ability to reach the ascribed ends of parity. The development of mutual trust, respect, and support enhances the strength of the body to achieve the remaining goals of equal participation.

(3) Institutional accountability in institutional behavior towards minority programs and human resources must be raised to the equal level of other programs and academic disciplines throughout the university. The failure of an institution to respond in a

responsible way to black programs should reflect adversely on the quality of that institution and carry with it the appropriate penalties. The health and care of black programs and the utilization and advancement of black human resources must be equal in stature on the agenda of all, but particularly the top administrators of these institutions. We should commit ourselves to working toward this end, both internally and externally.

(4) We must hold ourselves accountable individually and collectively. Each person must perform his task within the limits of his means with dedication and with excellence. From within the ranks, tolerance for incompetent behavior must be eschewed. To be taken seriously, a propensity for quality must undergird our efforts. Every removal of a black administrator or faculty is not the act of a racist or an oreo. We must be discriminatory, discerning, and objective, but we must also be courageous. The cause is too great; the prospect of failure too calamitous.

Let me end with the words of a great poet, Ed Bullins.

> The new day which is already at hand must find us firm, prudent, and resolute.
> For,
> Into your palm I place the ashes
> Into your palm are the ashes of your brothers
> Burnt in the Alabama night
> Into your palm that holds your babies
> Into your palm that feeds your children
> Into your palm that holds the work tools
> I place the ashes of your father
> Here are the ashes of your nation create the cement
> To build again
> Create the spirit to move again,
> Take this soul dust and begin again.

SERVING TWO MASTERS: PERSPECTIVE OF A BLACK ADMINISTRATOR AT AN URBAN BLACK INSTITUTION WITHIN A PREDOMINANTLY WHITE SYSTEM

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The idea of serving two masters is an undesirable state of affairs in the minds of most Americans. It is particularly repulsive to black Americans because of the lingering desire for freedom as well as the strong Judaic-Christian notion that one should not serve two masters. Freedom is an illusive concept for black Americans because it has never been what was expected. The abolition of slavery was quickly followed by broken dreams and a new system that was designed to maintain as many vestiges of the past as possible. The Judaic-Christian religion, which enabled black Americans to survive during oppression, provided little guidance in the practical world of politics and work. For indeed, in the world of politics and work it is necessary to have at least two masters.

Education was vaguely seen as a way out of the dilemma as well as the primary tool for surviving and having control over oneh destiny. Hence, the history of black Americans in higher education is indeed a unique chapter in American higher education that is still unfolding. The drama is being played at numerou institutions across the country. The intensity of the performance is of volcanic proportion in many of our urban centers. Of particular interest is the urban black institution within a predominantly white system.

There are many higher educational institutions that fit the above characterization. These are the institutions that have a majority of black students with governing boards and/or controlling legislative bodies that are predominantly white. Their urban locations are particularly significant in that more than seventy percent of black Americans live in cities [1]. Hence, young black Americans come in large numbers to urban black institutions to acquire an education from institutions that are controlled by a white majority. In 1970, almost half of the nation's black students attended historically black colleges; this year the figure is about 17% [2]. Many black students are dispersed throughout urban higher educational institutions and this creates a major problem for relating their experiences and skills to the needs of black Americans in general. I believe that this broader problem can be significantly addressed through a careful analysis of the issues surrounding the effectiveness of urban black institutions.

How effective are urban black institutions in meeting the needs of Black Americans?

Is the effectiveness of these urban black institutions improving?

What is required to improve the effectiveness of urban black institutions?

These are the questions that are addressed in this paper.

My perspective is that of a black administrator. This perspective carries with it certain assumptions. The first assumption is that institutional leadership is very important. In addressing the above questions, an assessment of the quality of institutional leadership is mandatory. This is essential in determining where the institution is going. The leadership must assist the institution in clearly defining what its business is and what it should be [3].

The second assumption is that a management system, which is independent of a single individual, is crucial to the success of a complex educational enterprise. Hence, the actual roles of key administrators can be major clues to answering the above questions. The third assumption is that institutional tradition is a major variable in assessing the performance of an institution. This factor requires understanding the history of the institution, its accomplishments and failures. My last assumption is that the community in which the institution operates has significant impact on what the institution is. It is my belief that higher educational institutions cannot continue to be successful if they attempt to isolate themselves from their immediate environments.

For the purpose of this paper I will look at a particular institution, Chicago State University. However, many of my conclusions can be generalized to other similarly situated institutions. Focusing on Chicago State University is useful in several ways. It is a university that has been, in effect, nine different institutions with nine different names since its founding in 1867. The name changes are exhibited in Table 1. These changes frequently indicated major changes in the educational mission and purpose of the institution. During certain periods of its history, the institution experienced rapid changes in the characteristics of the student body, drastic changes in the source and level of funding, major changes in the characteristics of faculty, different types of governing boards, distinct differences in the leadership and educational philosophy of the chief executive officer, and different educational programs. Focusing on Chicago State allows one to study in considerable detail the major changes that have occurred in higher education in general and in urban institutions in particular. Most of these changes occurred over a relatively short period of time at Chicago State University.

Looking at Chicago State is also useful in that I am intimately familiar with the development of the institution during the past decade. This familiarity allows me to put general theories of management into proper perspective regarding their specific application at this institution. What is known about management of public sector organizations will be assessed relative to the reality of Chicago State University. I believe that a similar approach is required for assessing the impact of other urban black institutions on the lives of black Americans in a predominantly white system.

A Historical Perspective

The history of blacks in higher education is replete with examples of major accomplishments of blacks [4]. Many of these success stories go unnoticed because of the strong tendency of blacks and whites to emphasize the negatives in reflecting upon the history of black Americans. For example, there is very little said about the Reverend Patrick Healy, probably the first black to earn a Ph.D., who was President of Georgetown University from 1874 to 1882, even though black students were not admitted until the 1950's [5]. In fact, the case for individual accomplishment is so strong and pervasive that much of it is now taken for granted. Yet, the important question remains as to how individual accomplishment relates to the condition of black Americans in general? Although individual achievement is absolutely necessary it is only the first step toward improving the lives of black Americans. The second step must be organizational and institutional effectiveness.

In addressing the question of how effective institutions are in meeting the needs of black Americans we are compelled to review the current status of historically black universities. The better than one hundred historically black institutions developed to educate black students under a segregated system must now deal with a new reality. Most black students do not go to the historically black colleges. Of the 220,000 students who go to college, about 70% are in state universities [6]. In addition, the traditional black colleges are under attack from many directions. Kenneth B. Clark asserts that "Black Colleges perpetuate inferior academic standards for black students and award Jim Crow degrees that do not meet the standards of the average traditionally white colleges."[7] Coping with this type of criticism from blacks as well as whites is a major problem for black colleges. It is interesting to note that the above criticism is frequently made of any institution that enrolls a substantial number of black students. In this regard, the point of view of Roosevelt Johnson is noteworthy.

> One can be on the campus of Ohio State University or one can be on the campus of Florida A.M. University, the unabashed truth of the matter, if you are Black is that you are a part of the Black college. In each case you are segregated and isolated. The problem is, of course, many a Black does not know this simple fact [8].

The real challenge for black institutions is to be able to acquire the type of progressive leadership that the times demand in the context of the institution's strengths and weaknesses. The institution's history may well provide the clue to successful leadership. The case history of Chicago State University illustrates the point.

A Case Study: Chicago State University

The history of Chicago State University is similar to the history of many state supported institutions that have emerged from the teacher education tradition. In many respects, however, changes at Chicago State have been more drastic. The institution achieved international recognition for its programs of educational experimentation under the leadership of Francis W. Parker [9]. When Francis W. Parker left in 1899 he took twenty of the institution's thirty-three faculty members with him. He and most of his faculty ended up at the University of Chicago [9]. On the other hand, in 1946 the institution was threatened with loss of accreditation because of the strong involvement of politics with education [9].

The institution has also been a vehicle for different ethnic groups to move up the socio-economic ladder. The enrollment of black students increased from around ten percent in the forties to about thirty percent during the latter part of the fifties. By the end of the sixties, black students constituted a majority of the student body. Currently, the black enrollment is about eighty percent. This rapid transition in the makeup of the student body is a major factor in assessing the institution's effectiveness.

As expected, a significant racial transition for faculty and administration has occurred. The number of black faculty has increased from nine percent in 1970 to thirty percent in 1980. For the administration, the change has been even more pronounced. As in many institutions of higher learning, the first black administrator was hired during the sixties. Currently, the percentage of black administrators is fifty percent. These transitions have occurred without any organizational or institutional strategy to address the interpersonal problems that are inevitably superimposed on educational issues.

The transition in regard to educational programs has also been substantial at Chicago State University. In the late sixties, numerous B.S. and B.A. degree programs along with new M.A. and M.S. programs were added to the curriculum. Professional programs in nursing and business administration were added early in 1970. By 1976, a college of allied health was established which now has programs in dietetics, medical records administration, and radiation therapy technology. These program developments have had a major impact on the basic characteristics of Chicago State.

One can still discern a significant degree of correlation between the Chicago State of today and the Chicago States of the past. In analyzing the history of Chicago State I identified nine different institutions. The basic characteristics of the institutions relative to each chief executive officer can be summarized as shown in Table 2. This table identifies the twelve different administrations that have provided leadership for the institution from 1867 to 1982. The years of administrative control for each chief executive officer are also given.

The first Chicago State existed for fifteen years between 1867 and 1882. This institution was strongly committed to training teachers as highly qualified professionals while maintaining a traditional educational philosophy. Students had no prerogatives in this system. The Wentworth administration was the fourth longest administration in the history of the school. The institution had national significance.

The second Chicago State emerged under the leadership of Francis W. Parker between 1883 and 1899. These were tumultuous years in that the institution's educational philosophy was shifted from conservative to innovative. Under Parker's leadership the concept of creating a democratic environment in the classroom was realized. The institution achieved an international reputation during this sixteen year-period.

The third Chicago State is discernible between 1900 and 1909. This nine-year period combines two administrations which were unable to reconcile the conservative and progressive educational philosophies. For the first time in its history the institution was not certain of what its business was. However, a major development occurred during the Tompkins administration. The institution's mission incorporated service to the city as a primary goal. This concept is a major part of the mission of the current Chicago State.

The conservative educational philosopy prevailed from 1909 through 1928. During these years, the William B. Owen administration maintained control of the institution for the longest time period (19 years) in the history of the institution. This administration was highly responsive to directives from the local governing board, the Board of Education.

The fifth Chicago State, 1929 through 1938, simply fought to survive the depression years and severe budgetary restraints. During the latter part of this period the institution extended the curriculum to four years.

The sixth Chicago State, 1938 through 1945, saw the emergence of creative and innovative leadership during the Bartky administration. The programs of the institution had a strong commitment to liberal arts and teacher participation in the community. Once again, the idea of service to the city was translated into realistic programs. Unfortunately, the seven-year period for this administration was not long enough for its full impact to be appreciated.

The seventh Chicago State, 1945 through 1948, was once again an institution struggling for survival. The institution's accreditation was threatened and numerous problems existed due to strong political influences. The educational mission of the institution was suspect. There was a major difference between the pressures upon the institution at this juncture in its history and those during the depression years. The problems of the forties were essentially locally generated whereas those of the thirties were due to national conditions.

The eighth Chicago State, 1948 through 1965, made major steps toward achieving state college status. This entailed major revisions of the curriculum and establishing more open policies regarding admissions. Reflecting the characteristics of its urban location, the enrollment of black students approached thirty percent by 1965. Fifty percent of the faculty possessed doctorates, consistent with the move toward traditional higher educational standards. Raymond M. Cook was the chief executive officer during this period of seventeen years. His was the second longest administration in the history of the institution.

The ninth Chicago State, 1966 through 1982, combines two administrations. During this period, the institution gained state college and university status. Major new B.S. and professional programs were developed and the institution achieved long term accreditation for most programs. The racial commposition of the institution changed from predominantly white to predominantly black. This sixteen-year period was distinct because of the rapid evolutionary changes that occurred at the institution over a relatively short time period.

Reviewing the history of Chicago State one can draw several conclusions:

1. Service to the city has been a primary part of its mission since 1905.

2. The institution achieved international recognition for its innovative and progressive educational programs during the latter part of the 1800's.

3. Creative and innovative leadership has been a major contributing factor to the institution's level of achievement.

4. Throughout most of its history the institution has balanced opposing forces: conservative versus progressive educational philosophies, political versus academic influencess, and more recently, the needs of a predominantly white student body versus those of a predominantly black student body.

A major factor in the survival of any institution is the quality and character of its governing board. Chicago State has been governed by the County Board of Education, the Chicago Board of Education, and the Board of Governors of State Colleges and Universities. In addition to the local versus statewide perspectives of these boards, there were basic differences in the sources of funding for the institution. City and county sources of funding tended to be uncertain and more responsive to local political forces. On the other hand, state funding was more stable but responsive to the political environment at the state level. In addition, the statewide board does not reflect the population of Chicago State's primary service area. For example, of the nine members of the Board of Governors of State Colleges and Universities only two are from Chicago and only one is black. Hence, consistent with its history, Chicago State continues to balance opposing forces. I submit that the extent to which Chicago State differs from other urban black institutions is a matter of degree rather than substance.

How effective can an urban black institution be?

Institutional Effectiveness

Institutional effectiveness implies a certain degree of recognizable achievement. The institution may be recognized on international, national, state, or local levels as having outstanding graduates, faculty, or students. This recognition may frequently be related to outstanding research or the reputation of the research faculty. The top twenty or so American universities have achieved their reputations through outstanding research. The public service function is a poor third to the research function which is followed by the teaching function. The primary concern in this paper is institutional effectiveness as related to the teaching function.

Astin [10] reviewed five different conceptions of quality that are prevalent in higher education. He referred to the nihilist conception, the reputational conception, the resources conception, the outcome conception and the value-added conception. The nihilist conception assumes that quality cannot be measured whereas the reputational and resources conceptions ensure that only well established institutions with large endowments, prestigious faculty, and selective admissions policies can be effective.

The traditional black institutions have used the outcome conception of quality in making their plea for support. This conception relies on the level of success achieved by graduates. The number of graduates in important positions is assumed to be indicative of the effectiveness of the institution. Astin [11,12] points out "that most output measures depend more on the quality of students admitted to the institution than on the functioning of the institution or the quality of its program."

The fifth conception of quality as specified by Astin [10] is the value added conception. This concept is that quality can be related to the impact that the institution has on the students' intellectual and personal development.

Astin [10] posed two critical questions in assessing any concept of quality:

Does it really reflect what we mean by quality?

Does using it help to enhance quality in higher education?

In attempting to assess realistically the traditional definitions of institutional quality, Astin [10] proposed a new conception of quality which is consistent with the value added conception. Under his new conception,

> a high quality institution is one that knows what's happening to its students and one that gives faculty clear-cut opportunities to develop their teaching skills under minimally threatening conditions. Further, the high quality institution has a system of student development that enables it to make appropriate adjustments in programs or policies when the need for change or improvement is indicated. In other words, quality is equated here not with prestige or physical facilities but rather with a continuing process of critical self-examination that focuses on the institution's contribution to the student's intellectual and personal development.

A study by Katz and Harnett [13] supports the need for a new standard of institutional effectiveness. This study was systematically targeted on students and their perceptions of how educational and training programs affected them. Although the focus of the study is at the graduate and professional level there are obvious connections with undergraduate education. According to the study, some of the problems that students saw regarding educational quality included the following.

1. Students hoped to join a community of scholars. Instead, they found themselves pushed into relative intellectual isolation from other people and concentrating in a narrow specialty that few can share with others.

2. Students desire to work with professors who will guide them and reflect on their work. Instead, they find access to professors limited and at times they are subjected to treatment they consider demeaning. Women students and minorities still confront considerable discrimination.

3. Most graduate students express a strong interest in teaching. Yet, usually they are taught to neglect teaching if not to have contempt for it. Adequate training for teaching rarely exists.

4. Students would like to advance on the road to independence and adult identity that they began in their undergraduate years. Instead, upon entering graduate or professional school they are often treated like college freshmen.

These are findings from interviews with students who attend colleges and universities that are generally recognized as high quality institutions.

These findings along with a student and faculty focused conception of quality provide a framework for urban black institutions to ascertain their effectiveness. Urban black institutions are not locked into an established educational tradition. They must be responsive to the needs of their urban student clientele as well as the many pressures from the urban environment. The quality of leadership can have profound effects on the programmatic thrust of the institution over a relatively short period of time. Feedback on the impact of the institution on the lives of its students can readily be obtained in that a large percentage of its students come from and live in the urban area surrounding the institution. Unfortunately, this feedback is not typically obtained in an organized fashion so as to lead to improvement of the institution.

The nine dimensions of institutional effectiveness developed by Cameron [14,15,16] provide a useful reference from which to begin:

1. Student educational satisfaction - The degree to which students are satisfied with their educational experiences at the institution.

2. Student academic development - The degree of academic attainment, growth, and progress of students and the academic opportunities provided by the institutions.

3. Student career development - The degree of occupational development of students and the emphasis and opportunities for career development provided by the institution.

4. Student personal development - The degree of nonacademic, non-career development (e.g. culturally, socially) and the emphasis and opportunities for personal development provided by the institution.

5. Faculty and administrator employment satisfaction - The satisfaction of faculty members and administrators with their employment.

6. Professional development and quality of the faculty - The degree of professional attainment and development of the faculty and the emphasis and opportunities for professional development provided by the institution.

7. System openness and community interaction - The emphasis placed on interaction with, adaptation to, and service in the external environment.

8. Ability to acquire resources - The ability of the institution to acquire resources such as good students and faculty and financial support.

9. Organizational health - The vitality and benevolence of the internal processes in the institution such as openness and trust, problem solving adequacy, shared information, etc.

The above criteria are appropriate for any institution of higher education. They are particularly appropriate for nontraditional and urban black institutions. The urban black institution must focus on student development as a complete process in terms of academic, career, social, and cultural considerations. The institution must develop its internal health in order to make external improvement. The communication processes in an urban environment are much too intimate and rapid to ignore community interactions. Indeed, the internal and external processes are so closely related that success in one area necessarily leads to success in the other area. Students attend the institution but they also live in the community surrounding the institution. Faculty members and other institutional personnel work at the institution but they also participate in community functions and organizations in the larger community.

The urban black institution's success at student development will undoubtedly enhance its ability to attract resources such as good students and faculty and financial support. It is clear that the urban institution's unique history and dedication to student development is essential for black Americans. The urban black institution must be successful in making the vital connections between teaching, research, and public service in support of student development.

How effective are urban black institutions in meeting the needs of black Americans?

Each institution must answer this question in the framework of the nine criteria developed by Cameron [14,15,16]. How effective is the institution in its student development activities? What is the level of faculty and administrator employment satisfaction? How much faculty development is provided by the institution? What is the quality of internal and external interactions? Finally, is the institution effective in acquiring resources--good students, faculty and financial support--for its programs?

Urban black institutions have been successful in surviving and producing outstanding scholars. The challenge now is to build organizational effectiveness that will be beneficial to the urban black population. Through its students, faculty and other institutional personnel the connection between community and institution must be integrated so that political as well as financial support will be forthcoming. This is particularly true for publicly supported institutions. The institution's educational programs must enable students and faculty to harness research in resolving community issues. Its graduates must not only be competent in a discipline but must also be culturally and socially aware human beings with a firm commitment to improving the society.

Is the effectiveness of urban black institutions improving?

In the past, the effectiveness of black institutions has been argued based on an outcome model. Indeed, as has been noted, there are and continue to be large numbers of black graduates who have established enviable records of individual achievement. However, as more gifted black students go to the traditional white institutions the pool of talented applicants for black institutions declines. Hence, the level of institutional effectiveness based on an outcome model is lower. Yet, an assessment of institutional effectiveness based on an outcome model is suspect anyway [14].

The effectiveness of urban black institutions must be assessed in the context of the aforementioned criteria. To my knowledge, this has not been done.

What is required to improve the effectiveness of urban black institutions?

Even without having an answer to the second question, it is clear that urban black institutions can be improved. If for no other reason, they can be improved because all institutions can be improved. In the case of urban black institutions there are more pressures that must be contended with than in the more traditional institutional environment. These diverse pressures make it more essential that the urban black institution deal explicitly with the nine criteria in improving itself. These nine criteria may be used as tools for the institution to achieve its student and faculty development objectives.

With nine multivariant objectives as reflected in the nine criteria, the responsibility for reconciling conflicting views or misunderstandings must reside in the leadership of the institution.

We have seen in the case study of Chicago State how new leadership emerged depending on prevailing environmental factors. Yet, throughout its history the institution has negotiated major transitions in programs to meet student needs.

In order for the urban black institution to improve its effectiveness it must have the leadership that is appropriate for it at its stage of development. The leadership must blend the institution's history with what it is in order to determine its potential for the future. The achievement of that potential imposes additional constraints on the leadership. These may be succinctly stated using Drucker's findings [3] for effective public institutions as guidelines.

1. The institution needs to define "What is its business and what should it be." Alternatives must be brought into the open and consequences carefully thought through;
2. Clear objectives and goals must emerge from the institution's definition of function and mission;
3. The institution must think through priorities which enable it to select targets and to set standards of accomplishment and performance;
4. Measurements of performance must be defined;
5. These measurements must provide feedback into the system to build self-control from results; and
6. There must be an "organized audit of objectives and results, so as to identify those objectives that no longer serve a purpose or have proven unattainable." Unsatisfactory performance, and activities which are obsolete or unproductive must be identified and a mechanism for sloughing off such activities must exist [3].

The application of these management principles is difficult for any public institution. It is especially difficult for the urban black institution within a predominantly white system. The ability to identify and understand the various dimensions of this difficulty will be the basis upon which more effective institutions will emerge.

The Urban Black Institution

The effectiveness of the urban black institution is strongly dependent on its history, its leadership, its educational objectives, its community objectives, and its ability to attract support. Its community must be broadly based, producing political and fiscal support for educational programs that meet the developmental needs of urban students. Many conflicting pressures must be negotiated to address these needs. Conservative versus progressive educational philosophies, maintenance of the status quo versus progressive efforts to build institutional effectiveness, individual achievement versus institutional achievement, political influences versus analytical influences, black versus white control of the institution's destiny--these are the issues.

Black students come to the urban black institution and the institution responds by assisting them to develop academically, culturally and socially. The students are able to make successful career choices as well as be committed to participate in other institutions and organizations to improve the condition of black Americans. Can traditional perceptions among blacks and whites allow such an institution to exist?

Even with the progressive leadership and commitment that is required to create more effective urban black institutions there are two powerful psychological barriers that must be addressed. On one hand, there is a group of participants who believe that an effective urban black institution is an impossibility. This group has representatives from the students, faculty, administration, civil service, governing board, community, legislature, and press. On the other hand, there are the believers who are also members of the above groups. It is clear that, just as in the history of Chicago State, different factions will rise and fall.

In reality, these are the two masters with whom the black administrator must contend. One master cannot imagine having an effective urban black institution, the other is firmly dedicated to making it a reality. The black administrator must use all of his intellectual and political skills in coping with this reality. He/she must be committed to increasing the influence of the master who believes in building an effective enterprise.

The black administrator must be ingenious in using the policitcal, analytical and public relations tools that are at his disposal. These tools are not only essential for dealing with the external community but are also critical to dealing with the internal community. The process of increasing institutional effectiveness is a continuing process with long term consequences. The black administrator is keenly aware that short term problems can very quickly undermine the long term objectives.

Bower [17] points out several instances where managers in public agencies were able to maintain the integrity of their enterprises while effectively coping with political and public relation pressures. Gordon Chase, former administrator of the New York City Health Service Administration, successfully negotiated the politics of New York City while keeping focus on the primary question: "Whom did we make healthy today?" [17] William Ruckelshaus, first head of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) noted,

> In my view politics happen very often when there is a vacuum, when there is no real analysis. Then the resource allocation decision is usually based on who has more clout or who screams louder. I feel very strongly that if you don't have the analytic talent and if important decisions are up, they'll be made by another process than analysis.[17]

The black administrator knows that even with the best analysis, political considerations may prevail. Therefore, he must keep focus on the primary factors that will determine his institution's effectiveness skillfully utilizing feedback on results to recruit supporters for his institution. He must develop supportive relationships with students, faculty, other administrators, members of the governing board, community leaders, politicians, and the mass media. In the midst of these extensive interactions the black administrator must be personally consumed by the mission of his institution. Without this dedication the task becomes impossible indeed. A portion of a letter written by Dwight D. Eisenhower to Time's publisher, Henry Luce, August 8, 1960, is apropos.

> To command the loyalties and dedication and best efforts of capable and outstanding individuals requires patience, understanding, a readiness to delegate, and an acceptance of responsibility for any honest errors--real or apparent--those associates and subordinates might make. Such loyalty from such people cannot be won by shifting responsibility, whining, scolding or demogoguery. Principal subordinates must have confidence that they and their positions are widely respected, and the chief must do his part in assuring that this is so.[17]

The black administrator demands to be treated as a dedicated professional.

The effective urban black institution offers the best hope for black Americans. It commands resources (people, intellectual, spiritual and financial) that can be mobilized to achieve well-conceived student and community development objectives. Participation from its numerous public sectors can be a major asset under progressive leadership. The urban black institution experiments and applies up-to-date concepts of teaching and learning and organizational building. The more effective it is the more secure is its base of support. Yet, there will always be strong opponents and nonbelievers. The urban black institution must significantly impact the political environment through its most valuable resource, the people who believe in it. Through their commitment and shared sense of purpose, the resolution of conflicting pressures will give way to the long term objective of making the institution more responsive to the needs of black Americans in a predominantly white system.

"Education makes a people easy to lead, but difficult to drive; easy to govern, but impossible to enslave."[18]

Table 1

The Different Names For Chicago State University 1867-1971 [9]

Year	Name
1867	Teacher Training School Blue Island
1869	Cook County Normal School, relocated to Englewood
1897	Chicago Normal School, Chicago Board of Education
1913	Chicago Normal College
1938	Chicago Teachers College
1961	Chicago Teachers College, South
1965	Illinois Teachers College: Chicago South
1967	Chicago State College
1971	Chicago State University

Table 2

Chief Executive Officers of
Chicago State University
1867-1982

Name	Years of Service	No. of Years	Major Characteristics of Institution
Daniel S. Wentworth	1867-1882	15	Organized institution around teaching as a profession which required teachers to maintain high standards of performance. The institution achieved a national reputation. Educational philosophy was conservative and traditional.
Frances W. Parker	1883-1899	16	Innovative educational philosophy based on establishing a democratic environment in the classroom. Institution achieved an international reputation.
Arnold Tompkins	1900-1905	5	Unable to reconcile conservative and progressive factions. Service to the city became a primary part of the institution's mission.
Ella Flagg Young	1905-1909	4	Developed the first plan for extending the curriculum to 3 years.
William B. Owen	1909-1928	19	Conservative educational philosophy. Highly responsive to the Board of Education. Implementation of a 3 year curriculum.
Butler Laughlin	1929-1936	7	Provided leadership during the depression years withstanding efforts to close the institution due to severe budgetary restraints.
Verne O. Graham	1936-1938	2	Extended curriculum to 4 years.
John A. Bartky	1938-1945	7	Creative and innovative leadership. Strong commitment to liberal arts and teacher participation in the community.
James I. Swearingen	1945-1948	3	Accreditation of institution threatened due to political influences in the educational system.
Raymond M. Cook	1948-1965	17	Institution acquired major state funding. Major revisions of curriculum. Enrollment of black students approached 30%. 50% of faculty with doctorates.
Milton B. Byrd	1966-1974	8	Institution became a state college with multi-purpose mission. Major new programs developed and institution achieved university status. Enrollment of black students approached 70%.
Benjamin H. Alexander	1974-1982	8	Institution developed new professional programs. Long term accreditation of programs achieved. Enrollment of black students reached 80%.

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SERVING TWO MASTERS: PERSPECTIVES OF A BLACK PRESIDENT OF A PREDOMINANTLY WHITE INSTITUTION

Richard M. Turner III

When I was invited to speak on this topic, I gladly accepted. Frankly, I accepted very quickly, even eagerly. In retrospect, I suppose it was too good an opportunity to turn down. To speak about my experience as a black president in a predominantly white college -- what an opportunity! To now let it all hang out, so to speak -- all of the accumulated frustrations that I alone had seemed to understand well -- I certainly had lots to say.

Several mornings later, actually during my shower -- my "think tank" -- the question hit me sharply: "Why did they pick me, a community college president, of a relatively small college at that? There must be a number of persons who can do a better job at this than I." Well, the good thing about using the shower for a think tank is that thinking can stop when the water is turned off. The concern about my selection, therefore, did not remain uppermost in my mind for long.

It is possible that my educational and experiential background provides me with a perspective not unlike that of many of you, at least in some aspects. My elementary/secondary education occurred in all-black schools, in private/public settings. I was graduated from an independent predominantly black liberal arts college in Tennessee. Following a summer's graduate study, I began my twelve-year tenure as a member of the faculty and department chairman in a predominantly black church-related college in Alabama, and earned my master's degree during summers at a "Big Ten" university, where I later earned my doctorate. I returned to teach and head a department at my alma mater for three years.

I spent the next eight years as a dean and provost at a large, urban community college in Maryland -- first in a single-, then in a dual-campus setting. The black student enrollment was just approaching 50 percent when I arrived; eight years later, it was approximately 75 percent.

For the past three years, I have served as president of a New England public community college with an enrollment of 2,000 full-and part-time students. Black students comprise 30 percent of the enrollment.

Does the complexion of the student body alone determine whether or not an institution is regarded as black or white or Hispanic, or whatever? I suppose we probably do use that criterion principally in determining the racial character of an institution. There are varying opinions about the proportion of black to white students that makes the difference; certainly, however, any percentage of blacks over 50 percent is black! There are other factors, however, that should be considered in making this assessment. I have experienced a number of them.

In the Alabama college of my initial full-time employment, the faculty and staff were evenly mixed, black and white; the president and the business manager were white for 10 of my 12 years there. The academic dean and dean of students were black. The succeeding president and business manager were black. The board of trustees was predominantly white.

The faculty and staff of the Tennessee liberal arts college were approximately 63 percent black. The top administrators were black. The 36-member board of trustees was about 75 percent black.

In Maryland, in the single-campus setting, the faculty and staff, including the top-level administration, were predominantly white. Despite the rapidly changing student body, the faculty of approximately 350 was comprised of about 20 blacks. In the new two-campus setting, the new president was black; the top-level administrators at one campus were predominantly black and at the other campus they were white. The faculty of one campus, serving a 55 percent black student body was equally black and white; at the other campus, despite a 75 percent black student body, the faculty remained almost totally white.

At my current institution, the president and two of three deans are black. Black faculty and staff comprise about 25 percent (24) of 102 persons. In the latter setting, a larger percentage of blacks are employed than at any other institution of higher education in the state. The chief executive officer of the statewide community college system and the predominant number of his 35-member staff are white. The sixteen-member board of trustees for the system is nearly 25 percent black.

It is sufficient to say that, with the variables cited above, covering a 26-year career in higher education, including the late 60's and early 70's, my experience has been broad enough to permit many of you to relate to some aspects of my perspective of a black president in a predominantly white college or university. I will be talking, therefore, from my cumulative perspective, rather than from my experience in or knowledge of any particular institution. Some settings are changed in this presentation to preclude identification of places or institutions.

I have been interested in the college presidency for a number of years and I have observed a number of presidents from near and far. Some of them I have known personally and/or through their writings, e.g., Clyde E. Blocker (Richardson, Blocker and Bender, 1972), Warren Bennis (1973), Donald Walker (1979), and Stephen J. Wright (1960), including, among others also, some of the most highly regarded and some of the worst. During my professional career, I have worked under five presidents, three black and two white. My doctoral study was made possible only through the cooperation of twenty-two presidents of predominantly black private and church-related colleges in 11 southern states (Turner, 1972). I have come to know others as a result of nearly a dozen visits to colleges and universities on behalf of regional and professional accrediting associations.

Having been asked to speak to you from my perspective as a black president of a predominantly white college, I was surprised subsequently to be informed by letter that my talk was going to be published and that a "scholarly" paper was requested, with appropriate citations, etc. I spent some time in my "think tank" pondering ways of making what I thought I wanted to say sound and look scholarly. Certainly, I could not say what I really wanted to say if the paper was going to be published. How could I dress-up my commentary on the subject to make it sound scholarly and still get my message across? Besides, how would I ever find the time, in the short time available, and with my already hectic schedule, to research and write this masterpiece?

To be perfectly fair to myself and to all black presidents, yes, in order to be fair to all black administrators in higher education, living and dead -- lest I live up (or down) fully to the expected level of mediocrity with which black people are so frequently and stereotypically associated -- let me indicate, at the outset, that this paper even may be humorous, but scholarly it is not!

I did discover, by the way, why I was asked to speak on this occasion. If you read the Chronicle of Higher Education, you may have noted in the February 3, 1982, issue the "Fact-File: Women and Minority-Group Members in Administrative Posts," and the adjoining article, "Despite Gains, Women, Minority-Group Members Lag in College Jobs," which indicate that there really are not that many black or minority presidents employed in predominantly white colleges and universities. So, in fact, according to these reports, the planners of this meeting only had eight minority men and no minority women to choose from out of 554 presidents in 514 colleges and universities that participated in the reported study, conducted by the American Council on Education for the College and University Personnel Association, with a grant from the Ford Foundation (CHRONICLE, 23:4). Given the short notice, vacations and other prior commitments of my black colleagues in similar settings, it is even more understandable how I got to be your speaker.

Now, why should I have the slightest concern about how you regard the quality of my scholarship? I really do not know, except that I always have had this little fear that I might somehow be found out to be of little substance and represent poorly both myself and my race. After all, have we not all been regarded as genetically or otherwise inferior to whites since slavery? Stephen Peeps describes a post-Reconstruction quasi-scientific movement, called "Social Darwinism," that held to this theory of the genetic inferiority of blacks. This movement had a great negative impact upon the development of educational opportunities for blacks in the South (Peeps, 1981, p. 258). Many, many blacks, over the years, have used this positively as a driving force in the pursuit of excellence in education and throughout illustrious careers, proving over and over again the utter absurdity of any theory of inherent inferiority of blacks as a race. Yet, many black college and university administrators, including college presidents, find this baseless belief so frequently embedded in the minds, albeit the subconciousness, of white college faculty, staff and members of governing boards as to appear universal. Paradoxically, when we surpass the expected level and quality of performance, we too frequently are punished rather than rewarded. This often is very difficult to cope with positively. I believe that it is this attitude of assumed inferiority of blacks that is most degrading and offensive in black-white relations and, to some extent, in some black-black relations. Black college and university presidents certainly are not excluded as victims from the consequences of this unfortunate racial stereotype. As blacks, we frequently discover that we are regarded as look-alikes, despite our quite different physical features. Our distinguishing educational and occupational achievements also are quite frequently held to be inconsequential as if, surely, we have been beneficiaries of special consideratiion in obtaining our degrees and jobs. We are regarded by most whites categorically as blacks, without individual distinction.

I know of one black president who, when appointed, was persuaded to employ a white assistant designated by the board chairman, in order for concerned white board members to be assured that the new president would be able to serve the needs of his office without "embarrassing" the board. Indeed, it did appear, over a period of several years, that the president was most highly successful, due mainly to the capabilities of his able assistant. Only when the president moved on to a new position and the assistant was promoted to a position of line responsibility did the college community realize the former assistant's true capabilities -- or, rather, lack of them -- and discover too late the strengths of the former black president.

Although Jacquelyn Mitchell refers to black students in white colleges and universities, the same applies so frequently to black presidents of predominantly white institutions:

> Their success, their failure, their smallest actions are seen not merely as their personal attainments, but as representative of all minority people, . . . different from some of the others and the "unexceptional" mass of minority status people, but representing them just the same. . . . (They must) be both representative and exceptional, and find some way neither to succeed nor to fail (Mitchell, 1982, pp. 34-35).

It has been my good fortune to serve always, over the past 26 years, a significant number of black students in each college in which I have been employed. It is the rare black person employed as the president of an institution in which there is neither 1) a significant black presence (among students, faculty and/or trustees) and resultant institutional/community pressures for the serious consideration of black candidates, nor 2) a rather unattractive institutional setting with multiple problems, including inadequate resources.

In the former situation black students, in significant numbers in white institutions, often persuade trustees to consider black candidates as administrators and presidents. Fontelle Gilbert reports that 38.8 percent of all minority students in higher education are in two-year colleges. Her data come from the Higher Education General Information Survey (HEGIS) of 1976. She indicates further that minority students comprise 22.3 percent of total headcount enrollment in two-year colleges according to fall 1978 data of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges (Gilbert, 1980). It is predicted, according to Donald Smith, that predominantly white two-year colleges will continue to enroll the majority of black students (Smith, 1981, p. 302). Opportunities for blacks seeking presidencies may be greatest, outside of the predominantly black colleges and universities, in those predominantly white institutions enrolling the largest numbers of black students.

Many of us, with preparation and ambition to ascend to presidencies, find that the only opportunities available to us are those which are of the most challenging nature, requiring all of our energies and ingenuity. The black president appears so often to have been selected to assume responsibility for the inevitable failures of the American college and university. What is required to overcome the great odds against success are a thorough and advance knowledge of the institution as well as solid educational preparation and broadbased success in teaching, research and administration, usually obtained best "through the ranks." We simply do not secure positions in white institutions, generally, that permit us the leisure of experimenting with alternative solutions to problems. We must have at our immediate disposal a repertory (or arsenal) of tested approaches to the successful resolution of the multifarious problems in every aspect of institutional operation. Our survival, in an often "dog-eat-dog" environment (Smith, 1981, p. 303), requires a combination of seasoned diplomacy, hard-as-nails determination to succeed, personal and professional integrity, controlled flexibility, consistent objectivity, physical and mental endurability, clear foresight and vision, functional innovativeness, limitless commitment of time and energy, open and genuine friendliness, and compassion and respect for all humanity -- for starters.

In many predominantly black colleges, the fundamental integrity of the black president and his administration usually is assumed; the president's professional abilities and performance most often, therefore, are adjudged more objectively. In a predominantly white or white-controlled institution, the black president too frequently knows, sometimes too late, that any problems that arise in the course of performing his responsibilities merely support and document the expected unsuitability of his having had the job in the first place. Put another way, the margin of error is narrower for the black president than for his white counterpart in a white college or university. Error reinforces in whites an expectation that the black administrator constantly strives to avoid.

As if to contradict what I have just stated, let me say that my experience indicates that in some predominantly white institutions some kinds of errors by blacks may be tolerated for a while, although regarded as unacceptable by whites. I refer here, for example, to some characteristics of personal lifestyle that run contrary to local or institutional mores, or even some minor infractions of fiscal policies or procedures. What so often happens is that the black administrator, whose violation is regarded as a trait of character unique to all blacks, is permitted to continue unchecked until there is sufficient evidence by a superior to obtain enough evidence to use to manipulate or control the black administrator in a kind of educational blackmail.

In some parts of the South, in years past, white governors and legislatures used this method to control a number of presidents of predominantly black state institutions, allowing the presidents virtual autonomy as long as they saw to it that no one "made a wave" on their campuses. Campus trouble carried with it the threat of exposure of the president or loss of his job for some real or contrived wrongdoing.

The black president of a predominantly white institution is faced with a constantly shifting base of support. If he administers a relatively troubled institution, as so often he does, he may find himself the victim of his own objectivity and even-handed sharing of tough decisions. Blacks, who may have supported him earlier in his administration may become disgruntled and join with more vocal whites who criticize him. No one likes to receive bad news. Despite often extensive communications relating the fair basis for a decision, however, it sometimes is more difficult for blacks to receive unfortunate news from black administrators than from white administrators. Reductions in force which affect black personnel are particularly problematic. Bound by ethics of the profession as well as laws and policies which preclude disclosure of personnel decisions to the college community or the public, the president is confronted by reaction from various constituencies based solely on one-sided and often distorted views of persons affected by decisions. It is helpful in times like these for the black president, particularly, to be able to display a track record of good, fair decision-making to help absorb the shock of reaction by both blacks and whites.

The white power structure, too frequently without taking the time to understand the facts in some decisions of black presidents, will confer with other blacks who are unknowledgeable or otherwise unqualified to provide advice. Any black person too often serves as the corroborating agent for a power structure that does not understand or is unwilling to respect differences in qualifications of blacks to judge. All blacks are regarded as on the same level. Often, political ranting of blacks who may be totally ignorant in certain matters is enough to damage the confidence of powerful whites in black presidents. For the same political reasons that influenced the consideration and appointment of the black president in the first place, an unfavorable one of censure or dismissal may result.

Negative decisions involving whites, regardless of the objectivity and supporting documentation applied, also can be tough, if not impossible to have implemented by black presidents of predominantly white colleges and universities. White power structures, despite their awareness of sources of problems, can upset decisions on minute technicalities, leaving presidents to deal with even more serious problems of low campus morale that result. Presidents, sometimes too late, discover that the informal organization of an institution, black or white, is more powerful than the formal one. Informal alliances between the power structure and persons relatively low in an institution's organization can wreak havoc in unexpected ways. The experienced and talented president, however, learns to utilize the informal structure to his and his institution's advantage.

An excerpt from Smith's "Social and Academic Environments of Black Students on White Campuses" may be paraphrased to apply to black presidents, as well as black students, on white campuses:

> Black (presidents) who thought they were "just like everybody else" are often shocked to discover that their ability to bury racial differences (prior to their presidencies) gives them little or no advantage in dealing with white (environments and power structures). (Smith, 1981, p. 303)
>
> They (too late) see their universities as hostile places where white students and faculty perceive that all Blacks are "special admits" and beneficiaries of affirmative action.(Smith, 1981, p. 300)

We, as black administrators, cannot bury our heads in the sand and pretend that the racial problem does not exist in a critical way in our colleges and universities. I expect that I, like most of you, have developed a sixth sense -- a sort of fine-tuned radar system that detects racism from a great distance. Having been born, educated and employed in the deep South, my radar picks up multi-directional and weak signals. We have to be aware constantly of the potential problems that can arise and learn to respond to them in a timely, and positively effective manner.

Perhaps a few suggestions, some perhaps quite obvious, may be helpful to the yet idealistic aspirant to a college presidency:

1. Prepare to accept tough assignments. As one ascends in level of responsibility, the problems that have to be dealt with become more and more complex. If you are one who learns and grows from mistakes, it is advantageous to make your most serious mistakes at the lowest administrative levels possible; they should not be saved for a day when you presumably are powerful enough to absorb the impact. Like the baby -- who learns to walk by falling and picking himself up, not like the tall and heavy adolescent who has postponed the task of walking for his teen years -- develop your professional skills in your early professional years, before the tumbles of decision-making become too critical.

2. Begin early the practice of documenting practically everything. Practically no decision -- positive or negative -- can be made or implemented without objective supporting data. Auditors require it; it is needed for hiring, evaluating, promoting, and terminating personnel; it is needed in collective bargaining grievances, whether or not grievances are well-founded in the con-

tract, in equal opportunity and other complaints, and lawsuits. You simply cannot start doing this tomorrow. Start now. The fact is, I have found, that the most serious problems often develop from some of the most insignificant occurrences. It is not too much to suggest that one keep a very detailed log of daily observations in addition to scheduled appointments. Anything extraordinary should be noted.

3. Learn early to be consistent in the implementation of policies and procedures, and do not play favorites with anyone. This also, I hasten to add, has the corollary requirement that you seek favors and assistance from persons of influence very sparingly. Remember, "one favor deserves another," and one's objectivity in a later decision can be pressured uncomfortably when the person of influence decides to "collect" for his previous favor. The hiring process comes to mind as one very susceptible to compromise. Procedures must be committed to writing and widely communicated and understood. When it becomes obvious that an institution follows it consistently, the special requests cease to be made.

4. Black presidents and administrators need a communications network. Despite affirmative action and equal opportunity stances of institutions throughout the country, the "old boy" network is alive and well in the white community. Black professionals benefit whenever a respected colleague or mentor nominates him or otherwise recommends him enthusiastically in the ascent of the career ladder. Beyond that very obvious benefit, black professionals need to support each other on a regular basis, serving as sounding boards for the multifarious problems unique to them that must be faced daily. Having said that, as you may know so well, confidants should be selected very carefully. They simply are hard to find.

   Blacks must participate actively in activities associated with the profession -- in research, writing, consulting, lecturing -- to exchange ideas and to let others know of their accomplishments. My observation is that we have not been represented actively enough in professional organizations and have not been assertive in taking on increasingly more organizational responsibility. When institutional funds are inadequate, we must pay our way and go anyhow.

5. Remain above petty criticism. Remember the maxim, "the bigger one gets the harder one falls." Keep your personal and professional conduct above reproach. Avoid having your professional status compromised by some personal indiscretion. Entrapments are numerous. Supporters can be played against you; good advice can be withdrawn. Too frequently, one is given all the "rope" that is needed to "hang himself."

6. Develop a solidly positive track record of good and fair decisions and actions. None of us is perfect and we inevitably do make mistakes. A solid track record based on objective, rational action will help to get us over the bumps.

7. Maintain a broadbased support group. A president's support must extend beyond his campus and include also legislators, fellow educators, the business community, the media, labor unions, foundations, professional and community organizations, and numerous others. His institution must be regarded as an asset by each constituency and his leadership as vital to the institution's success.

8. Maintain strong links with the black community. There is a subtle disrespect for black administrators by some blacks, who appear to feel that "if that black person got the presidency, anyone could have, including me, since he is no better than I." Of course the black president is no better as a person, but presumably has had better preparation for the position he holds than many others. Regardless, some unsuccessful black applicants for positions are far less tolerant of negative decisions of institutions headed by blacks and appear often to feel betrayed, even when it is generally obvious that they lack qualifications for positions sought.

One unacquainted with the ordeals of blacks in American higher education, particularly in predominantly white colleges and universities, might suspect, having listened to me today, that I absolutely must be paranoid! Jacquelyn Mitchell (1982, p. 37) reports Davidson's accounts of black students' fears of being co-opted, resulting from corroborated experiences with white faculty. Davidson calls this kind of fear "non-paranoid paranoia," because "it is based in reality; but 'paranoid' nevertheless, because it is excessive and sometimes demoralizing (Davidson, 1973, pp. 37-38)." I hope that you have not been bored or demoralized with my madness.

This presentation has been one of the most difficult for me to prepare. Mitchell, I believe,expresses some of my feelings quite adequately:

> Although our role as spokesperson is self-imposed, it is nevertheless exhausting and stressful, and takes a mental toll on minority researchers who strive to be effective. Furthermore, we are burdened with the responsibility of not misrepresenting our people's realities. We realize that our statements can be potentially harmful to people of color if they result in distorted conclusions. As a result, like other minority researchers I am often overly cautious before I speak or write, hoping that the statements I make and opinions I give reflect fairly accurately the black experience in general, not merely myself in particular. Thus I forego a bit of my own autonomy, knowing that this is inherent in such a responsibility. (Mitchell, 1982, p. 40)

The paradoxical problems of the black president who serves two masters in the predominantly white college or university can be summarized by Mitchell, who says

> I am expected somehow to be . . . objective . . . yet have a black perspective. . . . As a black scholar I am both within and outside white academia: my visibility and minority status are inseparable, ever-present, always apparent to me and to my colleagues. . . . My behavior is often assessed in terms of race and ethnicity, regardless of my personal traits. The rules, though tacit, are quite clear: if I fail to conform to the behavior which is socially defined and sanctioned by the academic community, I will be held accountable and labeled. . . . I am learning the fine art of "switching hats" depending on the race or status of my colleagues, and on the context. . . . What ensues is a state of double marginality, a condition far more draining than one would experience under most demoralizing circumstances. It is of little consequence that we may be recognized and respected for our contributions and scholarship; our ever-present visibility never allows us to experience complete membership in white academia. At the same time, these marginal feelings begin to affect our ethnicity as well. We thus experience double marginality, belonging to and feeling a part of two worlds, yet never at home in either. (Mitchell, 1982, pp. 37-39)

Mitchell (1982, p. 39) refers to W. E. B. Du Bois' notion of "double consciousness," described by Du Bois as

> a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eye of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness--an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, the unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. (Du Bois, 1961, pp. 16-17)

Let me conclude on a note of optimism. On June 16, 1982, I received a form letter and brochure announcing a conference at the University of Vermont, July 28-30, 1982, entitled "Racism: The White Experience." A paragraph in the brochure describes the conference as follows:

> The conference aims to understand and deal with white racism, particularly in higher education, with a focus on predominantly white institutions in the northeast. Four assumptions are implicit. First, that racism in the United States is a white-caused and perpetuated problem. Second, that it is not enough to study and teach about people of color; whites must also learn about themselves, as whites. Third, that it is not enough to limit efforts to assisting people of color in gaining entry and adapting to the prevailing conditions on campus. Fourth, that even the best-intentioned efforts to curb

> racism in higher education will remain intractable until changes are made in the prevailing institutional, cultural, and intellectual patterns, and those personal behaviors that perpetuate racism.(University of Vermont, 1982)

Perhaps you will want to attend that conference in July, following this one. It should be interesting to compare the two experiences.

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SERVING TWO MASTERS: PERSPECTIVE OF A BLACK ADMINISTRATOR WITH A MINORITY-FOCUSED FUNCTION AT A PREDOMINANTLY WHITE INSTITUTION

Frank W. Hale, Jr.

There is unmistakable evidence that a significant number of black administrators at major white institutions of higher education look with ambivalence on their leadership opportunity. Given the intransigence of white resistance to change, their verbal approval to equalitarian principles notwithstanding, black administrators know that opportunities for sustained creative and energetic affirmative action leadership on a white campus are next to impossible. Angus Campbell's book, *White Attitudes Toward Black People*, makes the point that white people are disturbed by the pace of change in race relations which they see going on around them.[1] Therefore, it cannot be assumed that the black administrator with a minority-focused function has a designated role prescription as a mediator or diplomat. The leadership responsibilities of this particular administrator involve much more than that. Such a person must be an innovator, an advocate, an implementer, a spokesman, a reformer, a defender, a communicator, a politician, a fighter, an enforcer, a professional --- in short a dynamite leader. And, of course, the person can be none of these without the reinforcing factor of affirmative commitment from within himself or herself.

The middle 1960's marked the beginning of a major undertaking to incorporate ethnic minorities into the mainstream of American higher education. Prior to that decade, the higher education of many minorities was ignored, and that of blacks was primarily the province of the 4-year black colleges. Initially, prodded by the civil rights revolution and black student unrest, colleges and universities (professing a concern and responsibility for meeting the needs of minorities) hired black administrators and gave them assignments that had little to do with their qualifications and absolutely nothing to do with the titles they held, according to Moore and Wagstaff in their book, *Black Educators in White Colleges*.[2] Furthermore, the greater number of these black administrators serve as assistants to the white line and staff administrators, and, for the most part, are without power and authority. Devoting an entire chapter in their book to this phenomenon, Moore and Wagstaff, stated that "the black 'assistant to' is the administrative caricature in higher education."[3] This being so, one must be careful of assessing an affirmative action profile of an institution in terms of numbers only, because numbers alone sometimes obscure the fact that members of minority groups, even when present in significant numbers, often perform "do nothing" satellite functions outside of traditional structural mechanisms within the university. Additionally, black administrators constantly find themselves in the difficult position and dilemma of trying to satisfy the goals, needs, and concerns of black students on one hand, and the values, goals, and priorities of the academic administrator and faculty on the other hand. Thus, the concept of black administrators serving two masters as pinpointed in this title is no far-fetched fantasy or myth. It is more than an impression; it is a cruel reality in an environment that is equally as hostile and threatening to the black administrator as it is to the black student. Thus, a successful black administrator --- successful in terms of making black students and their personal and academic development his/her major concern --- must be an extremely strong and well-fortified person in order to cope with the day-to-day pressures of black students from a black frame of reference.

Commitment

Historically, "the admissions standards and policies, the racial composition of the faculty, the costs, the exclusivity of the system of fraternities and sororities, the campus atmosphere, and the factor of social expectancy conspired to keep the black student away from the college campus."[4] In fact, many black students feel that once they are admitted (or should I say "committed"), they are forgotten.[5] Many of them express feelings of meaninglessness, powerlessness, and alienation from the campus mainstream. Some of them have the feeling that they are always fighting the institution. Thus the black student, like other minority students, is caught between the pressure of his own home community to use higher education as an avenue of upward mobility so that he/she can return to serve that community and the pressure to, at least by implication, abandon his/her cultural traditions and his/her heritage, so as to "melt in" and become more acceptable to the historical patterns and mores of white society.

Given this kind of pressure and conflict that faces the black student on campus, the recognition of these realities is mandatory if we are to respond intelligently to what black students need. Part of this response is in recognizing the important functions that qualified and committed black administrators can serve in helping to resolve the critical problems of black students.

Fundamentally, the commitment of a black administrator lies deep within his/her own psyche. Black administrators are needed who themselves are black --- black in their "inlook," black in their outlook, black in their thinking. And there is no way that they can be subtle about this. A committed black administrator need not shout his support for black students from the housetop because the students will evaluate him on his support or lack of support for them when the chips are down. On the other hand, it is an illusion for an administrator to assume that he is clever enough to convince black students that his struggle for them must be a solitary, invisible one in order to protect their interests and his.

There is no way that a black administrator is going to be able to gain the trust of black students without putting himself on the line publicly and privately. There is nothing mysterious about the distrust that black students have for black administrators who are conservatively committed to the status quo, "don't rock the boat" approach to their concerns. While initially students may be impressed with the black administrator who possesses the appropriate credentials and experience, they soon discover that there is no necessary, obvious, or automatic link between credentials and commitment. While blacks and other minorities have been recruited and subsidized to enter white institutions, the colleges have been unprepared for the students. "The black surge into higher education has found both parties unprepared."[6] At the time Bowles and De Costa made this statement just a little over ten years ago, they contended that there was no mediating apparatus in most colleges by which communication between the college and its new black students could be established. Unfortunately, even today, there are black administrators on white campuses who have disowned and abandoned black students. They, like their white counterparts, assume a "purist posture." If black students come to them as ready-made packages of excellence, they are willing to share their time and expertise with them. They swagger and strut their position and their visibility as if they were hired solely on the basis of their competence. They conveniently dismiss the fact that many of them obtained their positions as a result of black student demands, and based on that fact alone, at least have some moral responsibility to contribute to the survival of black students at their institutions.

But beyond all of that, William Arrowsmith in his famous essay on "The Future of Teaching" reminds us that educators should be the "visible embodiments of the realized humanity of our aspirations . . ."[7] He continues, "It is men we need, not programs. It is possible for a student to go from kindergarten to graduate school without ever encountering a solid man or [woman], one who might for the first time provide the only profound motivation for learning, the hope of becoming a better person."[8]

True education leans heavily toward catalytic and away from authoritarian action. Barzun in his thoughtful and delightfully written classic, Teacher in America, reminds us that "We bottle up our ignorance and label it Heredity and Environment and there we stop. We should add something about will and temperament and then forget about the limitations, in order to concentrate on what can be done," (underlining for emphasis, mine).

Recruiting and admitting black students to white campuses is one thing; "accepting" them is quite another. It makes no sense to romanticize the greatness of an institution --- its financial resources, the reputation of its faculty, its distinguished alumni, or its physical plant if the black student perceives the institution as inimical to his interests, his dignity, and his heritage. Someone must be there to bridge the gap, and that is where the black administrator and the black faculty or staff member must make a contrition --- and a contribution other than a perfunctory one. In his exciting volume on *The Art of Teaching*, Gilbert Highet, in discussing the qualities of good teaching, insists that teachers must like their pupils. He contends that "it is easy to like the young because they are young. They have no faults, except the very ones which they are asking you to eradicate: ignorance, shallowness, and inexperience."[10]

While it is true that the position of administrator on a college or university campus carries with it some degree of authority, true authority, as Quintillian put it in his *Institutes of Oratory*, resides in one's own ethos. Thus, there is a distinction between the authority which is by virtue one's office and the authority which accrues to one by virtue of one's own commitment. One is intricately tied to one's position; the other finds its sense of purpose in one's personal convictions. The latter are the fortunate. They love the black students they seek to serve. They listen and make every effort to translate and transmit their concerns to the central administration and throughout the academic community. They are accessible and do not feel themselves put upon in being responsive to the day-to-day problems of black students, or for that matter, black faculty and black staff. They have concluded that commitment to the ideals of minority access and participation is not enough. Black administrators must be willing to invest something other than their rhetoric for the enhancement of black students. They must be willing to invest their expertise, their time, and their energies in order to effectively achieve and secure equal educational opportunities for those who have historically been denied them.

Innovater, Planner, Implementer

The black administrator has a responsibility, along with other administrators, to design, develop and promote curricular and co-curricular innovations that meet the unique needs of black students. Institutions must be helped to discover those educational techniques and processes appropriate to the needs of the non-white student. Otherwise, the institution is guilty of racism in substance and intent when its approach to education is limited to Anglo-Saxon subject matter, methods, and materials. "The diversity of college and university populations has increased and a significant segment of educational institutions has deliberately sought to encourage this variety through various experimental and compensatory educational programs especially designed to deal with these students."[11] Some institutions accept their social obligation in print and in the public speech presentations of their key administrators; yet, disproportionately few participate in practical programs.

Admittedly, we have served up our students more and more of what we have successfully served the majority group. We have assumed that what is good for one is good for all, not allowing for individual or group differences. We have insisted on bombarding them with the methods, tactics, and strategies that we know best. We have said, "We will do for you what we have done for others, and we will not vary our approach, your unique background, experiences, and culture, notwithstanding." Perhaps Gordon and Wilkerson put it most succinctly in this devastating admission: "We have asked of them a degree of change far greater than any that we as educators have been willing to make in our institutions."[12]

Therefore it seems appropriate that black administrators with minority-focused functions should initiate a potpourri of challenging crisp curricular and co-curricular experiences reflecting a departure from the traditional pattern of track-directed non-credit remedial courses to which minority and low-achieving students have ordinarily been exposed. Frequently, institutions have established broad-based guidance programs to enable the minority student to cope with his new and intimidating environment. Seldom ever have strategies been developed to improve the quality of the faculty member's relationship with minority students.

Perhaps we might borrow a chapter from the evolution that is going on in teacher education under the rubric of performance-based teacher education. With regard to the preparation of teachers who can work more effectively with minority students, the new training emphasis ranges from exclusive emphases on the teacher's knowledge of content and unique learning conditions to the attitude and value structure the teacher possesses. Frederick D. Rogers amplifies this concept in these words: "Any model for the preparation of teachers for minority group students has to include experiences that enable the prospective teacher to develop a healthy respect for these youth and their life styles. To accomplish this task, teacher education must have as its prime function the changing of teacher attitudes within the context of our democratic value system."[13]

Because faculty members jealously guard their prescribed sense of autonomy, black administrators, like any other administrators, can not run the risk of going it alone to influence faculty sentiment for the changes they seek in the best interest of minority students. They will need help from central administration, namely the president and academic dean or provost. Faculty members become unusually eloquent about their rights if they perceive their territory is being invaded for whatever reasons. And the simplest way for many of them to shield their racist attitudes and tendencies is to plead procedural interference of anyone who challenges their single-minded approach to anything. Unfortunately, uncommitted administrators sometimes become deft in their ability to side-step such confrontations rather than to strip the guilty parties of their facade and adding to their skull collection those recalcitrants who would violate or sabotage the affirmative action mission of the institution.

On the whole, we have been tempted to measure our affirmative action successes in terms of enrollment figures. This kind of data tends to overstate the case. "For example, in 1972 black students comprised 8.4 percent of the full-time undergraduate enrollment, but four years later they received only 6.4 percent of the baccalaureate degrees." A significant measure of achievement is the number of black students who persist to the completion of a degree. At Ohio State University, our three pronged 3R's formula is Recruitment, Retention and Release with a diploma. This can only happen when special programs are tailored to the needs and problems of black students. When that happens, it can make a difference.

It takes more than "a bag of tricks" or Mickey Mouse approaches to retention to reduce attrition. Research has documented what works in student attrition. The black administrator should endeavor to have the president to have improved retention high on his list of priorities. According to Beal and Noel on What Works in Student Attrition, "Retention efforts are apt to fail if they have not first achieved a directive and significant support from the president of the institution."[15] They further identified three areas of action for improving retention: (1) Academic stimulation and assistance (teaching competence and performance, advising, and learning support), (2) Personal future building (career planning, academic planning, and personal problem resolution), and (3) Involvement experiences (with faculty outside the classroom, "hands on" learning experiences, activities and events, peer associations, policies, planning and future directions of the college, and on-campus employment).[16] Lenning, Beal, and Sauer also identify graduation, course completion, and goal attainment as the three ways of measuring attrition and retention. It is absolutely imperative that the black administrator, recognizing the extremely high dropout of blacks attending community colleges and public land-grant institutions, be aware of the research on attrition and retention (1) in order to understand the various concepts of retention and attrition within a unifying conceptual framework, (2) in order to be able to synthesize the research on retention and attrition, and (3) in order to examine the implications of the research for black students and other minority students in particular.[17]

Advocacy

The black administrator must never cease to challenge the institution to fulfill its obligations to students once they have been recruited. While autonomy is the hallmark of the academic community, white administrators seem to have difficulty in giving the black community (black students, black faculty, and black administrators) the freedom to make the decisions that affect the lives and programs of black people on campus. The attitude is reflected in the lack of black and minority representation on major campus-wide committees. Furthermore, confusion and inconsistency in tenure policies continue to be a constant annoyance to blacks, other minorities, and women. Teaching, counseling, advising, mediating, and serving the community have not been given appropriate weight in the scale of rank, promotion, and tenure considerations.[18]

In such matters, the black administrator must assume a role of advocacy. On the one hand, he is champion of black interests. On the other, he cannot afford the luxury of being an adversary to the rest of the institution. Any timid acquiescence on his part will be resented by the black community on and off campus. His strength of advocacy comes with his being extremely conversant with the institution's policies, objectives, practices, and resources, while at the same time, he is intuitive, perceptive, and aware of black needs and concerns. His effectiveness will very largely depend upon the skill which he exercises in interpreting the administration for the black campus community and in narrowing the distance between blacks and those in the front office. He will be only as strong as his black constituency.

Reflections

My experiences at Ohio State University over the past eleven years have provided me with some sense of the demands that face a black administrator in a minority-focused position. Let me share with you several of my reflections over this period.

My first reflection is a common sense observation. Any institution that wishes to develop a program for minorities without providing ample financial aid is destined for failure. Since 1970, our Freshman Foundation Program has recruited over 6,000 disadvantaged students, and to date, these students have received a total of over $21 million in financial aid. The Office of Minority Affairs has established a formula of three-fourths grant and one-fourth self-help for financial aid awards. We have learned that it is unrealistic to saddle disadvantaged students with an excessive burden of loan and job obligations, when because of their need to adjust to a new environment, and in some instances, because of their limitations in basic skills, they need to devote maximum time to their studies. Even with this amount of support the number of black students, particularly black males, dwindles significantly from the time they are first enrolled with each succeeding quarter. Public state institutions are not generally as competitive as the highly selective Ivy League type institutions in attracting and admitting better students. So much of our funding, since the Civil Rights Act of 1964, has been issued (through federal and state incentives) to students on the basis of need. We know that blacks at selective institutions have much higher persistence rates than those at unselective institutions. This happens because better students are admitted to selective schools, and because students at selective institutions have a high expectation of success, whereas at unselective institutions, dropping out is the norm.

Beginning next academic year, 1982-1983, Ohio State will offer twenty (20) $1,000 renewable scholarships to talented minority seniors from the seventeen local high schools. All of these students will have a cumulative average of "B" or above, high qualifying test scores on the ACT or SAT, and evidence of strong leadership potential. This program will become a counterpart to our minority graduate fellowship program which has been cited by the National Board on Graduate Education as a "one of a kind" innovative program that has made Ohio State University the number one producer of black Ph.D.'s in America. As of the end of Winter Quarter 1982, 607 of the 753 (80.55%) minority students awarded fellowships since 1971 have gone on to receive the master's or doctorate degrees or both at Ohio State. According to Fuller, McNamara and Green in their article on "Alternate Admissions Programs," this recruitment and retention innovation was successful because of (1) the leadership and reputation of the black administrator who established and coordinated the program and because of (2) the minority-student fellowship program that undergirded it.[19]

A second reflection is that if minority students are to be successful the institution must provide opportunities that acknowledge and provide for the socio-cultural presence of minority students on campus. My office sponsors two orientation conferences at the beginning of each school year, one for entering minority freshmen who have an opportunity to meet and socialize with minority undergraduates, and one for minority graduate and professional students who have an opportunity to meet and socialize with minority graduate and professional students already in residence. Additionally, our office is responsible for helping to plan and coordinate the annual Martin Luther King Week and Black World Week observances. Throughout the year, we sponsor a series of academic, cultural and professional activities that bring minority scholars and artists to the campus for the general campus public as well as its minority campus and community constituents. We sponsor a Student Advisory Council that is composed of the presidents of 30 to 40 minority student organizations to promote academic, as well as recruitment and retention programs.

Another reflection is that black administrators must learn the art of politics. Sometimes, key university administrators and personnel would deceive us into believing that man is a rational animal and that all university decisions are based on rational premises. Alfred North Whitehead comes closer to the truth in admitting that "man is only intermittently rational." Any one of us who has lived in the academic community for a while certainly understands the validity of this statement. We all know that every institution of higher education, like the federal government, is saturated with special interest groups. To the extent to which the black administrator is conversant with the sociology and politics of higher education, therefore, he or she will be able to understand how the institution functions and the social and political phenomena of its operations. Nevertheless, the the personal and professional power and vigor of a black administrator is only as strong as his black constituency on campus, his ties in the local black community, and his influence on national black leaders whom he must keep informed concerning the nature, development and impact of his program.

I have also come to the conclusion that black administrators have the critical obligation of keeping their superiors informed of the attitudinal climate that exists among minorities on campus. There is no substitute for truth. Any attempt to serve as a buffer so as to isolate the president and other key officials from the sensitive issues that prevail will be counterproductive. They must understand the sense of anxiety, distrust, disillusionment, isolation, hostility, and defensiveness that minorities experience when surrounded in a sea of whiteness. To tell white administrators only "what they want to hear" is unethical, and a kind of Uncle Tomism that if swept under the rug or in the closet will ultimately produce the kind of spontaneous combustion that render both white and black administrators virtually defenseless.

In another related dynamic, once again, "integrity" is key to a black administrator's success. Attempting to be all things to all people in every situation is a "fence-straddling" luxury that the black administrator cannot afford. If he/she is a true professional, he will not be acquiescent to the illegitimate demands of black students. He must evaluate all situations in terms of the student's best interests. He will fight for the student who has been taken advantage of, but he will not sacrifice his integrity to be the "attorney general" for students who are guilty of cheating, of stealing, of destroying another's property, or of engaging in criminal acts or malpractice of any kind that do a disservice to higher education and to the cause of black people. Further, black administrators worth their salt will also challenge those "powder-puff-people" who inflate the grading process by giving minorities unearned grades without requiring the concomitant of high quality work.

My final reflection is that all of those who now hold minority-focused administrative positions in higher education must brace for what is facing us ahead. "Affirmative action is no longer on the back burner. It's clean off the stove." And that fact alone should crystallize and cement our determination and our efforts. The current Washington administration has unveiled an all-out foe of affirmative action programs. It has sought to emasculate the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. It has systematically challenged the extension of the Voting Rights Act. It has recommended severe cuts in financial aid available on campuses which would eliminate over 2 million awards to needy students. It has recommended a budget that would eliminate funding for three student-aid programs: National Direct Student Loans, Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants, and State Student Incentive Grants. It has supported tax exemptions for private schools that practice racial discrimination. It has opposed court-ordered busing, even as a last resort, to redress generations of bigotry.

As the United States Commission on Civil Rights reminded us, "a society that, in the name of the ideal, foreclosed racially-conscious remedies would not be truly color-blind but morally blind."[20] Those of us who are black administrators are on center stage. We have a magnificent opportunity to challenge our black youth to develop a new sense of confidence and expectation. They may come to us economically deprived, but we must let them know that they need not be deprived of motivation. They may come to us educationally deprived, but we must let them know that they need not be deprived of the discipline required to organize their study habits. They may come to us in response to the indifference of their teachers, but if we are indifferent they can rightly assume that either we are uncommitted or that we have been bought, and that our only interest is self-interest. If our students fail, then the cause of black people will fail. But if the crisis is formidable, so are we. We must prepare to sacrifice, even to risk losing our jobs, to defend our unique heritage and that sense of human dignity so glibly espoused by those who would often challenge our struggle to obtain them.

Let us accept the challenge of the poet Gibran in his masterful rendition on Giving.

There are those who give little of the
much which they have --- And they give
it for recognition and their hidden
desire makes their gifts unwholesome.
And there are those who have little
and give it all.

These are the believers in life and
the bounty of life, and their coffer is
never empty.

There are those who give with joy, and
that joy is their reward.

And there are those who give with pain,
and that pain is their baptism.

And there are those who give and know
not pain in giving, nor do they seek
joy, nor give with mindfulness of virtue;

They give as in yonder valley the myrtle
breathes its fragrance into space.

Through the hands of such as these God
speaks, and from behind their eyes he smiles
upon the earth.

It is well to give when asked, but it is
better to give unasked, through understanding.

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SERVING TWO MASTERS

James E. Lyons

During the spring of 1969, I was interviewed by the members of an institution's Organization of Afro-American Students (OAAS) and members of the office of student affairs. The members of OAAS were looking for a black administrator who would serve as an advocate for black concerns. The student affairs staff was looking for a black administrator who could keep the administration "aware" of the concerns and "activities" of the black students. On July 1, 1969, I was hired as Assistant Dean of Students, Black Student Advisor, and Director of the Afro-American Cultural Center. The students and the administrators both concluded that I met their needs. Thus began my attempt to serve two masters.

The dilemma of serving two masters takes place on several levels, the most frequent being political, professional, and socio-cultural. Let me relate a few anecdotes that I believe will highlight our concerns this afternoon.

I

One Saturday morning I decided to jog to campus rather than sleep late. As I ran past the administration building, I observed the automobiles of several administrators on the campus. Conspicuously absent from this group were the automobiles of any of the black administrators. I didn't discuss it with anyone at the time, deciding to wait until I heard someone comment on the Saturday morning meetings. After observing this activity several weekends, I decided to ask my supervisor about the meetings. His response was that these meetings didn't have anything to do with black students. They were discussing "general college matters." How could there be "general college matters" of such importance that they required regular Saturday morning meetings but didn't require the presence of any of the forty black administrators?

II

After having a meeting to discuss how black administrators could exercise more influence on campus, forty black administrators requested a meeting with the president of the university to discuss our lack of power in the college community. After a lot of heated discussion, the president made the following statement (and I remember it as though it were yesterday): "How many of you in this room have a terminal degree, the doctorate? That's what captures respect in academia." By the way, only two held the doctorate!

III

One of the radical students in the OASS called me and said that the students had decided to burn down several buildings on campus that night. They were having a meeting and wanted me to know this in the event some of them were apprehended. Knowing that arson was a very serious offense, I asked them if I could attend the meeting. They agreed, provided that I agreed not to try to talk them out of their plans. I got out of bed, dressed, and left the house headed for the meeting. Some of the students objected to my presence and demanded that I leave. Before leaving, I informed them of the penalty for arson in the state and promised to do everything possible to see to it that if any of them were apprehended, they would not be sentenced to more than five years in jail. After some of the emotionalism subsided, I suggested that they should call all the major administrators [illegible] talk to them about the concerns of black students. They decided to tie up all of the major administrators' telephones at 2:00 p.m. that afternoon. At about 2:30 p.m., I received a call from the president. He summoned me to his office and gave me hell for "putting students up to this act." In the final analysis, most of the student leaders were happy because they were invited to meet with the president the next day. The white administrators were happy because they could use their telephones once again. And me? What about me? The more radical black students who wanted to burn down the campus were angry with me and called me "Uncle Tom" for changing their plans. The president and my immediate supervisor were angry with me and now viewed me with suspicion.

IV

The members of the black community decided to attend a Saturday afternoon football game and sit together as a "show of force." What I didn't know was that a decision had been made to remain seated during the playing of the national anthem. When the anthem began, I stood up immediately. Much to my surprise, I was among only a handful of blacks who stood up. While I sympathized with the students about the words of the anthem (as the Black Student Advisor), the Assistant Dean of Students had to stand up in order to maintain credibility and respectability in the eyes of the broader community.

V

Finally, after three years in this difficult role, I decided to look for something more "legitimate" to do at the university. I was completely burned out. There were two positions available in the College of Arts and Sciences for an assistant dean. I thought this would be a good way to help black students with their academic problems and a way to move into academic administration. When I failed to hear from anyone concerning my application, I called and spoke with the dean of the college to find out why I had not received a response. He informed me that the screening committee was very pleased with my many accomplishments on the campus, but I was in student affairs and they did not want to hire someone who was not a faculty member. It was about six months later when I learned that the real reason I was not hired was because the position was not a "black position," it was a "regular" college vacancy.

I am certain that some of these anecdotes have struck a few sensitive chords. I will be happy to discuss them further during the period that we have set aside for questions and comments.

SERVING TWO MASTERS: KEEPING ONE'S IDENTITY AS A BLACK PERSON WHILE MAINTAINING CREDIBILITY WITHIN BOTH THE BLACK AND WHITE COMMUNITIES

Willie J. Kimmons

Introduction

Educational leadership is being challenged from many sources and from many different angles in the 1980's. The consumers (students) are raising questions about their rights and about the manner in which educators are performing. Parents and concerned citizens are raising questions about the quality of products (skills of graduates) educational institutions are producing, and federal, state and local governing bodies are asking educational administrators to do the same job or even better jobs with less financial resources.

In addition to these and similar kinds of challenges, concepts of leadership and administration are rapidly changing. For example, some writers, especially historians,do not distinguish clearly between a leader and the holder of a position with status in the organizational hierarchy. These individuals assume that the holder of an important position in the hierarchy is by virtue of the position a leader. Other persons, especially behavioral scientists, take a viewpoint different from the historians. Behavioral scientists have attempted to solve the problem by suggesting that the term leader be restricted to the role of a change agent and that the term administrator be used to denote the role of maintaining the organization.(Morphet, et al, 1982)

This writer takes the position that leadership can be provided by an administrator in acts of maintaining an organization as well as in acts as a change agent. The administrator can operate to prevent change and he/she can operate to facilitate change. So as this discussion continues, view an administrator as one who is wise, view administration as a social process concerned with creating, maintaining, stimulating, controlling, and unifying formally, informally organized human and material energies within a unified system designed to accomplish predetermined objectives. (Kimmons, 1977)

Theoretical Viewpoint

While many voices are proclaiming that all institutions of learning are facing a bold challenge and that all administrators are being challenged, this writer operates from the thesis that black administrators in predominantly black colleges are facing an even tougher assignment and their survival is much more risky. This position is a result of the philosophical viewpoint that black administrators and black colleges have a role beyond that of teaching, research, discovery and transmission of knowledge. Black administrators and black colleges have an obligation not only to recognize urban and rural social problems but to become more assertive in their prevention of their ultimate elimination.

It is generally accepted by many people that colleges and universities whether black or white are public service institutions. Therefore, their primary and most paramount function is to feed into the life mainstream a group of motivated, enlightened, productive and responsible citizens capable of handling the personal and societal problems of their age and time.

This is a hard, risky and speculative assignment to be thrusted upon black administrators. Yet, it is felt that the survival of black colleges depends to a large extent upon meeting these kinds of challenges.

The survival of black administrators at black institutions will be determined to a large measure by their answers to questions such as these:

(1) What responsibility do I have to minority group people?

(2) To what extent can I assist in eliminating and/or preventing urban and rural social problems?

(3) What role should I attempt to play in making this institution more responsive to the needs of all people?

(4) How important is my personal security and personal health?

Influence of Role Determinants

Based upon research in the published literature (Hoskins, 1978; Kimmons, 1977) it is concluded that all black administrators will not answer the kinds of questions raised with the same kinds of answers, the same kind of value orientations nor the same kind of commitment. How black administrators address such questions will be determined by the role demands on them. Role demands influence significantly an administrator's potential effectiveness and perhaps perception of responsibility to the institution, the different governmental bodies and the citizens.

There is one role determinant which can be referred to as the"system demands." The system demands refer to those kind of expectations of public service employees that different governmental bodies reinforce or prohibit through a range of sanctions, rewards and regulations. Bureaucratic systems are most frequently perpetuated because they demand and usually receive obedience to orders. Most of us are familiar with that traditional model of hierarchy which suggests that decisions are made at the top and implemented by those at lower levels within the system. A failure to respond to demands made by those at the top may mean harassment, dismissal and embarrassment.

It is felt that with regard to blacks, the system has successfully enforced its demands through a careful "weeding out" process. Because of the historical difficulties minorities have had in obtaining suitable employment, some black administrators place job security over program content, impact, or accomplishments, and thus become impediments to efforts to address the role of the institution.

Traditional role expectation is also a role determinant that black administrators encounter. Historically, it has been expected that certain people do particular kinds of jobs. Frequently blacks are placed in positions to become "sacrificial lambs" rather than effective producers. This kind of placement is usually due to some type of community unrest or pressure as opposed to being placed in a position with full decision-making authority based upon expertise.

If black administrators are to survive, they must be expected and allowed to carry out all major responsibilities of their positions.

Peer pressures and/or colleagues can be a role determinant for the black administrator. Even though peer pressure appears to be stronger during the adolescent years, adults are vulnerable to peer and colleague pressures also. The pressure on black administrators takes many forms and it is difficult to ward off such pressures since we are social animals and we desire to be accepted by peers and colleagues. Therefore, black administrators must be able to place such collegial pressures into a framework that does not allow them to overshadow broader institutional goals and community needs.

How the community sees the role of the black administrator is a role determinant that is important to his/her survival. More and more minorities are demanding greater participation and requesting administrators who are responsive to their needs. Blacks want and need administrators who will listen to them, who can communicate with them and who are concerned about them. If these kinds of expectations are not manifested, frequently the community's control becomes stronger and the administrator's control becomes weaker.

The black administrator's personal commitment and ambition become a significant role determinant that affects survival. This writer makes the assumption that most good administrators want to advance their careers vertically, horizontally, or otherwise. Therefore, it is believed that all administrators weigh important decisions not only in terms of possible institutional goals or consequences, but also with regard to implications for their own careers and personal development. It is further believed that as the number of successful black administrators increases, commitment to addressing community needs and implementation of desired social changes will increase even if it's because of numbers, since there is usually more security in numbers. Equally important is the fact that a growing number of committed blacks are assuming more responsible positions in settings outside of education.

As the number of black administrators increases whether they are in educational settings, industrial settings or public agency settings, it appears that black college administrators are better able to address the difficulties of balancing institution objectives, community needs and personal ambitions.

Survival Strategies

Most of us know that different forces give life to institutions regardless of kind. We also know that human energy and creativity are the most important ingredients of successful administration of any institution. Therefore, how well a black administrator survives in the future depends to a large extent on how successful black institutions are able to attract enough talented and highly motivated people to important positions. While it is important to attract the appropriate person for the position, it is also extremely important to be able to hold such people and to excite their loyalty.

The bond between black administrators and black institutions is commitment. Commitment is a complex attitude which can be parceled into there areas. The first area is a sense of identification with the institution's mission and goals. The second area is a sense of involvement or you might call it a psychological immersion in one's institutional duties. Finally, there is a third area which combines the first two, but adds more. This area is a sense of loyalty and affection for the institution which is indicated by an unwillingness to depart for a similar position in a white institution.

Black administrators cannot be expected to save themselves or the institution in some cases unless the institution indicates a willingness to change itself and its mission. With the institution being willing to change, the black administrator must know what changes need to be made and how those changes could be best accomplished. Black educational institutions have evolved over a long period of history without wide consideration of alternatives. However, in the future, there must be more student options. Black colleges should not only serve as a center of black culture, but must provide education and training generic to the solutions of society's problems. For example, if the kind of graduates turned out are not being hired, then they should turn out graduates with the skills that will allow them to be employed.

The black administrator cannot allow the black leadership dilemma to control his/her fate. The administrator must beware that the ability to influence his/her survival will consist of the leader him/herself, the institution, the people being led, and the situation(s) surrounding the institution. Yet, from a black leadership perspective, the interaction of these leadership variables poses a dilemma. For example, a black leader in an achievement-oriented situation may have a fear of success. When such fear is present, the black administrator is more apt to adopt more accommodative strategies in leadership situations. Further compounding of "the failure/success dillema" is the self image many black administrators have regarding their lack of acceptance by the white administrators and by superiors who may be black or white. In other words, because of social role stereotypes and racism and the resulting stereotypical behaviors on the part of some black administrators, there is limited institutional or peer reinforcement for success, especially from whites. The black administrator must work to create an institutional environment where he/she is not made to feel inferior or inadequate in an administrative role.

Black administrators must realize that frequently their administrative training came from white institutions that had numerous weaknesses in terms of successful leading minorities and minority institutions. To be tolerant of a person's behavior there must be an understanding of that culture's value--the determinants of that behavior. To what extent did your training program give you solid theory that could be readily applied in your laboratory environment (the white university)?

To summarize this viewpoint, the writer quotes from Williams 1975: "..people tend to behave toward each other in terms of why they think the others act as they do, regardless of what the actual truth is. It is important to know and understand the ways in which culture affects behavior."

With many other things going well for a black administrator, how he/she learns to cope with job tension and manage stress becomes important to overall survival. In the best of times and conditions, high level administrative positions usually correlate positively with increased job tension and overall stress. To survive as a black administrator, one must first maintain a healthy mental and physical body.

Some of the best techniques for coping with job tension and managing stress are as follows:

(1) Build resistance by regular sleep (exercise) and good health habits.

(2) Compartmentalize work and nonwork life.

(3) Engage in physical exercise.

(4) Talk through issues and problems with peers on the job and understand others outside the job.

(5) Periodically withdraw physically from the situation.

In general, the black administrator who will survive is the one who learns to be smarter rather than simply work harder.

Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations For The Future

From the information gathered in the study, and from working in an administrative position in predominantly black and white institutions, the investigator feels that there are many pressing problems. Predominantly black institutions of higher education will always be confronted with problems of maintaining a successful and complete educational environment for their students, primarily because of a lack of facilities, lack of funds, and inadequate pay scales for black staff, faculty and administrators. As a result of these circumstances, many so called "pseudo" black administrators are drawn to predominantly white institutions of higher education because they think these institutions will offer higher salaries and better working conditions.

Though the study did not provide conclusive evidence, it is the investigator's opinion that black administrators at predominantly white institutions have a higher degree of role conflict and role ambiguity than black administrators at predominantly black institutions. This result could be from the environment in which the black administrators work and what that environment offers towards meeting the needs of its clients. Further, if white administrators are really serious about the needs of black students in predominantly black or white institutions, they should strive for better working conditions and better salaries for all institutions. This effort should also weigh heavily on black administrators in institutions of higher education.

This presentation should provide educators with a better sense of direction in training black administrators and enhancing the functions of future black educators. Blacks are still underrepresented in significant decision-making positions at every level of higher learning. Employment opportunities for qualified blacks could increase as more knowledgeable and qualified blacks become available for administrative positons. Recruitment is one of the main influencing factors. Administrators in higher education need to become aware of changes in the patterns of influences and different influencing factors for administrators of diverse backgrounds.

This presentation could prove a useful tool for colleges involved in planning programs for training black college administrators at white institutions and black administrators in higher education as a whole. These results may serve as a basis for the recruitment, counseling, and guidance of potential administrators or those who are already in administration. It should also provide background information for future presentations. The need for a presentation of this nature is accentuated by the fact that there has been little research done in this area by educators, especially black educators. This condition, coupled with accelerated social change in our society, also accentuates the need for an in-depth investigation.

If education is to respond to the current challenge, the practices as well as the teachings of its institutions must become more responsive, and many of its institutionalized practices must be altered. Employment practices, specifically, have traditionally excluded black americans from equal employment opportunities, thus preventing their full participation in an open-class system. While many positive changes have occurred, the need for even more change is still apparent. The proposed remedies for these deficits can contribute significantly to the nation's educational stability.

The following recommendations for future presentations based on the results of this study were made by all of my colleagues:

(1) More research is needed to provide information for institutions involved in training black administrators;

(2) Further research is needed to explore and examine the relationship between role and status of administrators as it relates to race;

(3) There is a need for additional training programs designed to prepare black administrators;

(4) An annual up-do-date study of black administrators is needed at the higher education level;

(5) And lastly, there is a need for a black directory for black professionals in the United States.

The social environment of this country is not conducive to advancing the higher education needs of black Americans. Very little effective higher education planning takes place, with virtually no monitoring and evaluation. Being a black administrator in today's institutions of higher education means making a personal and professional commitment to black students in order to adequately provide the necessary services they require, while at the same time, not neglecting the white clientele.

We have noted in the public school sector that the Congress and courts of the United States have outlawed the concept of unequal educational opportunity. Yet, educational administrators have all too often been slow, reluctant, or even obstructive in their efforts to provide equal educational opportunity for all students at the higher learning level. We feel strongly that much of this deficiency can be traced to administrators' opinions, perceptions, and attitudes about students from different racial groups.

Each of these components is pertinent to expanding educational opportunities. It would appear that these areas are very important in making higher education viable for the last quarter of this century. Other researchers are encouraged to expand the task.

As black people, we need to study and analyze ourselves as opposed to being studied and analyzed by others. Our struggle involves the problems of people who have become complacent--an inability to make the kind of commitment to social and political issues which was so prevalent during the 1960's. We need to trust, respect, and appreciate each other as a people. We need to support each other, work together as a unit or team and spend time promoting, encouraging, and developing each other. If we are remiss in these things, we as a people will perish separately.

Finally, I would like to list some excerpts from an article written by Ms. Bebe Campbell in the March, 1982 issue of Ebony magazine entitled "Blacks Who Live In A White World." She communicated the decisions that ambitious black people must make when they enter the corporate environment. The problem is, the evaluation criteria that are used by major corporations extend outside of our job performance and into our social and cultural activities. We find ourselves questioning our identity when we adjust to unpreferrable situations. To obtain corporate success and gratification, we must become professionally proficient and culturally educated in whatever environment we are working while maintaining our black identity. This can be accomplished if we keep things in perspective. We are not striving to act like whites when we attend obligatory social outings we are acquiring valuable business tools and broadening our scope of awareness. There is no reason for blacks to feel intimidated or subservient when in the presence of whites.

Instead, we should take pride in our flexibility for being able to relax and feel comfortable in any environment.

ISSUES OF BLACK ADMINISTRATORS IN PREDOMINANTLY WHITE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES OF DIFFERENT TYPES

Walter Stafford, with the assistance of Edwin Dei

The black administrator in predominantly white colleges and universities is emerging as a key arbiter among the often divergent interests of black and white faculty, students, and community and political groups concerned about the mission of higher education. As the presence of black faculty becomes more tenuous during the 1980s with severe retrenchments in instructional positions, it is conceivable that black administrators could emerge as the pivotal black professional group in higher education.

The increasing focus on black administrators in white universities is an interesting twist from the early 1970s, when black faculty members were the center of attention. At that time, federal and institutional efforts to break the white male hegemony on faculty positions were questioned by white academicians and a few black intellectuals as a feasible course. The primary arguments against a strong push to hire black faculty centered on the scholarly publication record of black Ph.D.s, the quality of their training, and the small pool available from which to choose (Freeman, 1977; Lester, 1974; Sowell, 1975). Although these issues were raised initially in relation to elite white universities, ultimately they were raised by universities and colleges of all types. Black faculty members of the 1970s were often made to feel that they were hired only because of affirmative action efforts in spite of their qualifications. They were well aware of the articles questioning whether they could make contributions to their departments, institutions, or disciplines (Smith, 1975).

Although black administrators at white universities received less attention than black faculty, there were numerous articles and studies that attested to their frustrations (Johnson, 1969; Moore, Wagstaff, 1974; Mimms, 1981). In many respects they faced the same problems as black administrators in business and industry. However, from another perspective their problems were more severe. Not only did they face exclusion from key decision-making roles, but they were confronted with the need to stay abreast of decisions about the university from the perspective of administrators and faculty, issues in the larger community (notably at the federal and state levels), political and economic developments in the black community, and ideas and research being generated in their disciplines. Failure to stay abreast in each of these areas was often a sure way to limit their effectiveness and mobility.

The frustrations of black administrators and faculty members in the 1970s drew attention to the problems faced by minority groups in predominantly white universities which traditionally have been afforded a privileged status by the larger political and social system. In the middle and late 1970s, the courts and outside interest groups seriously began to challenge universities regarding their racial and sexual employment and tenure practices. By the 1980s, however, the central focus of the university --notably those elite schools with strong science programs--in developing new ideas and technology for reindustrializing the economy--gave the university a unique place in the nation's economic and political system, and issues related to the racial composition of the faculty and staff were not a high public priority. Thus, the problems of black administrators and faculty again receded from public attention.

While the initial problems faced by black administrators and faculty were similar, a shift occurred after they had been in their positions a substantial length of time. Black administrators had more responsibilities for the goals and the operations of the institution, which often isolated them from faculty, while the black faculty faced the need to survive in an ever competitive atmosphere in which the informal rules of the institution made it difficult to chart their careers. In many cases the black executive of the 1980s was the black faculty member whose presence was debated in the 1970s. Many of them had followed the traditional route from faculty to administration. However, the majority of black administrators were a part of the exceptionally large number of administrators hired during the 1970s. Census data show that college administrators more than doubled between 1970 and 1980. Although black administrators increased in number, their proportion increased only from 5 to 7 percent during the period (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1973; U.S. Department of Labor Statistics, 1981).

The growth in the number of black administrators was often in "soft" money positions (e.g., counseling and special student programs) and in positions that were peripheral to the core of the university structure and not considered an integral part of the academic community. These middle and lower level administrators are among the black professionals who are having the most difficulties at predominantly white institutions.

Problems confronting black faculty at predominantly white universities must also be discussed briefly because they are a key factor in the interpretation and analysis of employment practices in white universities. They are also a potential pool for future black administrators. The major problems facing black faculty are the decline in the number of lower level faculty positions, the high level of tenure at universities, the high percentage of professors and associate professors, and the much slower increase in students. The number of instructional staff in higher education grew by 38 percent between 1970 and 1976, but enrollment increased by only 28 percent.(National Center for Education Statistics, 1980) As the decade progressed, the number of instructional positions grew more slowly. Between 1977 and 1980, the instructional staff in the nation increased only by 2 percent, and this only among full professors, associate professors, and lecturers. There was a decline in the number of instructors and assistant professors.(National Center for Education Statistics, 1980)

The increasing scarcity of entry level faculty positions, and the fact that blacks are often competing for positions in the same fields, seriously limits their prospects in the 1980s. Indeed, the odds are against their maintaining their present level of visibility.*

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*Many blacks who were able to remain at predominantly white colleges and universities during the 1970s are tenured although they face difficulties getting promoted. Data from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) show that in 1977, 54 percent of black males and 47 percent of black females were tenured. By comparison, 71 percent of white males and 54 percent of white females had tenure. In addition to the high tenure rates, most of the upper level faculty positions remained filled by whites. In 1977, 85 percent of the full professors and 76 percent of the associate professors in the nation were white.(the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1979)

While black faculty members will continue to have an important role in predominantly white universities, their survival, as well as that of many black students, will probably become increasingly tied to the survival of black administrators. Nationally, seven out of every ten black students are enrolled in predominantly white colleges and universities, and their attrition rates in many of these institutions are excessively high. More often than not it is the black administrator who must assist the black student in adapting to the complexities of life at predominantly white universities. The black administrator will also be influential in shaping employment policies and practices that will provide greater access for black faculty members, notably future young black scholars.

A major problem for the 1980s consequently becomes how to maintain an avenue for the increase of black administrators, both those wishing to go through faculty ranks and those wishing to enter directly as administrators. Given the changes in the prospects for black faculty and the changing role of universities, the black administrator deserves close attention. The issues addressed in this article emphasize the need for black administrators to continually stay abreast of developments at their particular institutions, in the larger academic community, and in the black community and to serve as a link between these three. They must also work within their institutions to keep the traditional as well as the nontraditional paths to administration open to blacks. This article looks critically at the assets and limitations of black administrators in predominantly white universities and suggests strategies for the future.

Purpose and Source of Data

The purpose of this article is to discuss some of the major issues affecting black administrators in predominantly white colleges and universities. The data and findings discussed in the article are drawn from a study conducted by the National Urban League (NUL) in 1980-81 of black, Hispanic, and Asian faculty and administrators employed by predominantly white institutions in the tri-state area of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut. A principal source of data for the study was a survey of minority faculty and administrators conducted through a mailed questionnaire. The response to the questionnaire included 1,570 faculty and administrators. Of these, 1,216 were black (77 percent) and 389 of the blacks were administrators (32 percent). The survey asked for detailed information related to (a) a profile of minority faculty and administrators and (b) issues facing minority faculty and administrators.

Some Key Findings

The NUL data revealed a large number of issues related to black administrators and faculty in predominantly white institutions. Before discussing the two areas mentioned above, some of the broad, key issues facing black administrators, as well as faculty, will be noted:

More than 60 percent of the minority professionals strongly supported the need for federal agencies to monitor the hiring of minorities and establish more rigorous procedures for evaluating affirmative action plans. However, less than half (46.5 percent) indicated strong agreement with the involvement of federal agencies in the review of tenure procedures, and 17.2 percent disagreed with the need for federal involvement in this area.

Almost 60 percent of the minority professionals without tenure assessed their chances as poor, very poor, or no chance for being awarded tenure. Almost half (47.2 percent) indicated that their chances for promotion were poor or nonexistent. Only half (50 percent) of the minority professionals felt that the written criteria for tenure and promotion were applied fairly or were followed by peers in the tenure and promotion reviews. The major reasons for denial of tenure were lack of publications followed by retrenchment due to economic factors and failure to complete an advanced degree.

The major areas of job dissatisfaction among minority professionals were opportunities for advancement, salary, and opportunities to associate with minority professionals. The most satisfying aspects of their jobs were the competency of their colleagues and interactions with them.

Only six percent of the respondents indicated that their institution's affirmative action officer was very effective in assisting minority staff members with problems of promotion and tenure. In addition, nearly half (46 percent) of the respondents indicated that the affirmative action plans for their institution were ineffective in addressing the hiring of minority faculty and administrators.

Six of every ten (61.3 percent) minority professionals indicated that professional organizations (e.g., unions) were not helpful in dealing with minority employment and promotion problems on their campuses.

Only 29 percent of the minority professionals had received research funds from any public or private organization. The largest number of research grants was awarded by federal agencies. However, only 15 percent of the respondents had received research funds from federal agencies. Among those minorities who expressed an interest in research, the major areas of interest were applied to minority-related research. Nevertheless, only one-fourth of the respondents had published articles, although 54 percent had presented papers at conferences.

Minority professionals do not think that community service and counseling to minority students are given sufficient consideration in the tenure and promotion review. Half of the professionals indicated that minority community activities were not positively evaluated at their institutions, and nearly half (47 percent) of the sample felt that advisement to minority students was not positively evaluated.

Minority professionals do not generally serve on the more important committees that would increase their chances for promotion and tenure. Although the respondents indicated that committees which shaped academic policy were very important in assisting mobility, 56 percent indicated that their chances for appointments to those committees were poor or that they had no chance at all in comparison to whites.

There was little informal interaction between minority professionals and their white colleagues. In 1981, over 40 percent of the minorities indicated that they never hosted their white colleagues in their homes, attended political events, or engaged in leisure activities with them. Only five percent of the minorities indicated that they had visited the homes of their white colleagues very frequently during 1981.

A Profile of Black Administrators

Types of Institutions

Publicly supported colleges and universities in the NUL study employed 77 percent of the black administrators; 23 percent were employed by private institutions. The City University of New York and the State University of New York accounted for a major portion of black administrators. The type of institutions with the smallest number of black administrators were public and private graduate schools, which together accounted for only 12 percent of the black administrators.

Age and Length of Employment

Black males had been employed in higher education for a longer period of time and were considerably older than the females in the study. For both black administrators and faculty, 47 percent of the black males were employed in higher education prior to 1970, compared to only 29 percent of the black females.

The differences in the ages of the black males and females are significant. Nearly ninety percent (88 percent) of the black males were 35 years of age and over, while 45 percent of the black females were under 35 years of age.

Similarly, while 35 percent of the black males were 50 years of age and older, only 25 percent of the black females were in that age range.

Two-year colleges epitomize the differences in the ages of males and females. Eighty-two percent of the black males in two-year institutions were 40 years of age and older, while only 55 percent of the black females were in this age group. Two additional patterns related to age, sex, and type of institution were noted. First, black administrators employed in graduate institutions are older than in other institutions. The data reveal that 97 percent of the black administrators in graduate institutions were 35 years of age and over. Second, private institutions are more likely to employ younger black administrators than are public institutions. Fifty-three percent of the black male administrators in private universities were 35 or younger compared to 24 percent in publicly supported colleges. And, 57 percent of the black females were 35 or younger in the private institutions, compared to 41 percent in publicly supported institutions.

Salary, Position, and Tenure

The NUL's data include information about the salary, positions, and titles of black administrators. When this article was written, cross-tabulations had not been completed with these variables. In lieu of this cross-tabulation, the salary ranges of administrators in the NUL study were compared with those in the Administrative Compensation Survey conducted by the College and University Personnel Association for 1981-82. Using that survey as a guide, administrators in the NUL survey were assigned to upper level ($30,000 and above), middle level ($25,000-29,000), and lower level (under $25,000) positions. Upper level positions included presidents, academic officers, deans, associate deans, etc. The middle level included a range of positions related to services such as student relations, counseling, affirmative action and equal employment. (In the NUL study, 55 percent of the affirmative action officers were black.) Lower level administrators included a broad range of titles too extensive to include in this article.

As the findings in Table I show, 35 percent of black males earned salaries of $30,000 and above; 13 percent earned between $25,000 and $29,000; and 52 percent earned under $25,000. On the other hand, 11 percent of black females earned $30,000 and above; 13 percent earned between $25,000 and $29,000; and the vast majority, 77 percent, earned under $25,000.

TABLE I

Salary Distribution of Black Administrators By Sex

	Male	
	Number	Percent
Total	266	100%
Salary		
Less than $10,000	1	0.4
10,000-14,999	17	6.4
15,000-19,999	61	22.9
20,000-24,999	59	22.2
25,000-29,999	36	13.5
30,000-Above	92	34.6
	Female	
	Number	Percent
Total	211	100%
Salary		
Less than $10,000	4	1.9
10,000-14,999	36	17.1
15,000-19,999	70	33.2
20,000-24,999	52	24.6
25,000-29,999	25	11.8
30,000-Above	24	11.4

Source: National Urban League Survey of Minority Professionals in Predominantly White Colleges and Universities

Tenure rates at publicly supported versus private institutions vary greatly. The data revealed that 37 percent of the black male administrators at publicly supported colleges and universities were tenured, but only 7 percent of those at private institutions. Black administrators in publicly supported institutions often have followed the route from faculty to administration, and many still hold faculty titles. By contrast, it appears that the opportunities in private institutions for black males to move from faculty to administrative positions are more limited. Black males are also limited because of their shorter history in private universities and the smaller number and types of administrative positions available.

None of the black female administrators in the private colleges and universities were tenured, while 35 percent of those in publicly supported institutions had tenure. The absence of tenure among blacks in private universities, especially black females is a basic cause of their dissatisfactions discussed in later sections.

Family and Educational Background of Black Administrators

In the NUL survey, 48 percent of the black/minority administrators and faculty indicated that they were from lower income families. One measure of intergenerational mobility is that 67 percent of the blacks/minorities indicated that their fathers had only completed high school or less, and 71 percent indicated that their mothers had only completed high school or had fewer years of education.

Another consideration is region of birth and the racial composition of the educational institutions attended. While the older black administrators and faculty were likely to have been born in the south and to have received their elementary and secondary education in black institutions, the younger black administrators are more likely to have been born in the north and to have attended predominantly white high schools and colleges. In the NUL survey, 29 percent of the blacks/minorities attended predominantly black high schools and 52 percent attended predominantly white secondary schools. Twenty-five percent attended predominantly black colleges and 64 percent attended predominantly white colleges and universities.

Issues Facing Black Administrators

The above data outline some of the background issues related to black administrators. The following section discusses more specific, career related problems.

Completion of the Terminal Degree

One of the issues facing black administrators and faculty is the completion of the terminal degree, a standard requirement for upward mobility in higher education. The traditional route to top administrative positions in predominantly white universities is through a faculty position. Most top white and black administrators have completed their doctorates, many were scholars, researchers, or pioneers in developing programs, and some are recognized in their disciplines for creating or interpreting new findings. While many blacks who entered administrative ranks during the 1970s were able to do so without completion of the terminal degree, it is unlikely that this will hold true in the 1980s.

There are a high percentage of blacks in higher education who have begun but have not completed their advanced degrees. The NUL survey showed that among black administrators, 62 percent of the males and 67 percent of the females had failed to complete their terminal degrees. In many cases during the 1970s, predominantly white universities hired blacks who had not completed their degrees but who expected to do so in the near future. According to the survey, several factors hindered blacks from acquiring their degrees, including lack of financial resources and lack of available time. Another factor was the option of leaving a faculty position and moving into administration. In many cases, black males who started out in faculty positions switched to administrative positions because of less conflict with colleagues, more job security, and higher earnings. In many cases, they had not completed their terminal degrees, and after accepting administrative positions, they no longer felt that they had strong professional reasons to do so.

The NUL survey indicates the stage of completion of the terminal degree by black administrators and why many had stopped working on their degrees. As Table II reveals, there are significant differences by sex. For males of all ages who had not completed their terminal degrees, 56 percent were no longer enrolled in academic programs; and 14 percent had postponed completion of their degree for personal reasons. Only 11 percent were writing their thesis or dissertations. Among males 20-35, 19 percent cited personal problems; and in the group 36 years of age and older, 10 percent cited personal problems.

Reasons identified by black females were different in that they were less likely to identify personal problems. Among black female administrators 20-35, 55 percent were not enrolled in graduate schools, but none of them cited personal problems. (Most of them cited factors under the "other" category on the questionnaire, which allowed for open-ended responses that had not been computerized at the time of this article.) The findings for black women 36 and over revealed that 39 percent were not enrolled, but that 22 percent of them were working on their thesis or dissertation. They, like the younger women, also identified a variety of "other" reasons.

In addition to the above differences between black male and female administrators, the data revealed other factors that influence the likelihood of the two groups completing their degrees. One important difference is that younger female administrators are much more likely to have received graduate fellowships than younger males. This is a recent change, which may also be reflected in the increasing number of black female Ph.D.s compared to males. In the latter part of the 1970s, the number of black males receiving the doctorate declined while there was a rise among black females. An issue has emerged as to whether there will be a pool of black males and females ready and available for faculty and administrative positions. The availability of funds, fellowships, and assistantships is critical. According to data from the National Research Council, only 28 percent of the blacks awarded doctorates in 1980 received research assistantships compared to 42 percent of the white doctorate recipients (National Research Council, 1980). Data in the NUL study show that only 6 percent of the black females received teaching assistantships and 14 percent of the black males. The NUL study showed that 61 percent of the black females relied on jobs, savings, or their spouse's earnings to complete graduate school. For black males, the data showed that 53 percent depended upon jobs, savings, or earnings from their spouses. However, 10 percent indicated that they relied on the G.I. Bill.

The final factor of particular note in regard to completion of the terminal degree is the availability of a mentor. The ability to complete the degree at an age when one can be competitive is important. The median age that blacks completed the doctorate in 1980 is 36 compared to 33 for whites, and 34 for Asians (National Research Council, 1980). A mentor can facilitate the completion of studies and open doors to faculty and administrative positions. Although 53 percent of the blacks in the NUL study indicated that they had mentors, only a small percentage had mentors who were researchers. Most of the mentors were white males who, because they were not researchers, often could not link blacks into specific projects that would permit them to study under their tutelage and complete part of a study the mentor considered important.

The mentor is also important because he or she often affords entrance to the first job. White administrators interviewed in the NUL study indicated that, at least for faculty members, the person with whom one studied was often more important than the prestige of the university from which they graduated. For blacks who wish to follow the faculty-administrative route, such considerations are important. However, even if this route is not followed, the mentor serves another purpose in graduate school and on the job. There is a need for someone to bring the black administrator into the heart of the "community of scholars." Most blacks have to learn by trial and error about the informal decision-making processes that often determine career mobility.

TABLE II

Reasons Identified By Black Administrators For Not Completing Their Terminal Degrees By Sex

Reasons Identified By Frequency		Number	Percent
	Total	247	100.0
1. Not Enrolled		127	51.4
2. Other Reasons		39	15.6
3. Writing the Thesis or Dissertation		29	11.7
4. Work Suspended on the Requirements Due to Personal Problems		22	8.9
5 Course Work Completed		14	5.7
6. Work Suspended Due To Lack of Funds		13	5.3
7. Course Work and Orals Completed		3	1.2
		Number	Percent
	Total Male	130	100.0
1. Not Enrolled		73	56.2
2. Work Suspended on the Requirements Due to Personal Problems		18	13.8
3. Writing the Thesis or Dissertation		14	10.8
4. Other Reasons		14	10.8
5 Work Suspended Due to Lack of Funds		6	4.6
6. Course Work Completed		5	3.8
7. Course Work and Orals Completed		-	-
		Number	Percent
	Total Female	117	100.0
1. Not Enrolled		54	46.1
2. Other Reasons		25	21.4
3. Writing the Thesis or Dissertation		15	12.8
4. Course Work Completed		9	7.7
5. Work Suspended Due to Lack of Funds		7	6.0
6. Work Suspended on the Requirements Due to Personal Problems		4	3.4
7. Course Work and Orals Completed		3	2.6

Source: National Urban League Survey of Minority Professionals in Predominantly White Colleges and Universities.

TABLE II (b)

	Male	Age 20-35	Age 36 & Over
		100.0%	100.0%
1.	Not Enrolled	53.2	54.2
2.	Work Suspended on the Requirements Due to Personal Problems	19.1	9.6
3.	Other Reasons	12.8	10.8
4.	Course Work Completed	6.4	2.4
5.	Writing the Thesis or Dissertation	4.3	14.5
6.	Work Suspended Due to Lack of Funds	4.3	4.8
7.	Course Work and Orals Completed	-	-

	Female	Age 20-35	Age 36 & Over
		100.0%	100.0%
1.	Not Enrolled	54.7	39.1
2.	Other Reasons	22.6	20.3
3.	Course Work Completed	11.3	4.7
4.	Work Suspended Due to Lack of Funds	7.5	4.7
5.	Course Work and Orals Completed	1.9	3.1
6.	Writing Thesis or Dissertation	1.9	21.9
7.	Work Suspended on the Requirements Due to Personal Problems	0.0	6.2

Source: National Urban League Survey of Minority Professionals in Predominantly White Colleges and Universities.

Blacks in the NUL study were sensitive to these problems. Among the blacks who did not have mentors, 47 percent of black males and 49 percent of black females felt that it had hurt their career chances.

Likelihood of Leaving Their Institutions

Nearly half (47 percent) of the black administrators who answered the question about whether they were likely to change institutions within the next five years (1981-86) indicated that it was either very likely (35 percent) or likely (12 percent). There were several reasons: one is that at the time of the survey nearly two-thirds of the black administrators (65 percent) indicated that they were offered jobs during the 1980-81 academic year. The ability to find a job, the low salary of many administrators, and their dissatisfaction with their chances for promotion are major factors in their plans to change jobs. (In the NUL study, 47 percent of the minority professionals assessed their chances for upward mobility through promotion as very poor, poor or no chance.)

The differences between the sexes and by institutions provide interesting contrasts. The data revealed that women indicated the greatest inclination for changing jobs, and that administrators in private institutions, where few were tenured, were more likely than those in public institutions to express an interest in changing institutions. Among males, 41 percent indicated that it was very likely (30 percent) or likely (11 percent) that they would change institutions in the next five years. As Table III shows, males in private institutions showed a higher dissatisfaction than those in the public colleges. Among black males in the private institutions, 67 percent indicated that it was very likely or likely that they would change institutions in the next five years. By comparison, 41 percent of the black males in the publicly supported institutions expressed a possibility that it was very likely or likely that they would change institutional affiliations. It is particularly interesting that 46 percent of the black males in the two-year institutions, the principal base of employment for black males, indicated that it was very likely or likely that they would change institutions.

The sources of job satisfaction of black females deserves close attention in all institutions. Nearly half (46 percent) of the black female administrators indicated that it was very likely or likely that they would leave their institutions in the next five years. Similar to the males, the potential exodus had a higher probability among those employed at private colleges than at public institutions. Among the black females at private institutions, 64 percent indicated that they might change jobs and institutions, compared to 40 percent at the publicly supported institutions.

Table III

The Likelihood of Black Administrators By Sex
of Leaving Their Institutions Between 1981 & 1986

Male	Public Institutions		Private Institutions	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	170	100.0	46	100.0
Very Likely	50	29.4	24	52.2
Likely	19	11.2	7	15.2
Somewhat Likely	24	14.1	3	6.5
Unlikely	45	26.5	5	10.9
Don't Know	32	18.8	7	15.2
Female				
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	126	100.0	47	100.0
Very Likely	38	30.2	24	51.1
Likely	13	10.3	6	12.8
Somewhat Likely	26	20.6	5	10.6
Unlikely	33	26.2	7	15.0
Don't Know	16	12.7	5	10.6

Source: National Urban League Survey of Minority Professionals in Predominantly White Colleges and Universities

Achievement of Goals

A major factor in the decision of black administrators to change institutions or leave higher education is their frustration with achieving their career goals. The NUL data showed that half of the blacks in the NUL study chose careers in higher education because of perceived intellectual rewards. These rewards can be derived through teaching, research, and in the case of the black administrator, each of the prior two factors plus service as an arbiter among interest groups.

In order for the black administrators to achieve their goals, they must become part of the informal academic community that generates ideas and exchanges information about the inner workings of the college. Black administrators for the most part, are excluded from these circles. For minority professionals as a group, the NUL study showed that only 3 percent were invited to the homes of their white colleagues on a frequent basis during the 1981 academic year, and only 5 percent of the minorities invited their white colleagues to their homes. There were no responses that indicated frequent informal exchange between minority and white colleagues.

Not only is association with whites infrequent, but the type of communication needed for intellectual and professional growth often is not common among blacks and other minorities. Black administrators and faculty are not well organized on predominantly white campuses; they often do not share information, and the intellectual exchange needed for political growth is often absent.

This is not a problem peculiar to black professionals on white compuses. However, the NUL survey showed what may be a sensitive issue for many blacks in taking leadership roles in the future. The findings showed that serving as a leader among black or minority professionals was not highly regarded by the group or the institution, and that minority professionals were not actively involved in racial matters on their campuses (only 25 percent were very active) or in the nation (21 percent were very active).

Preference For A Racial and Ethnic Mix Among Students

If they were to change institutions, the major preference of black administrators would be student populations that were ethnically and racially mixed. In the survey, 76 percent of the black administrators indicated that if they were moving to another institution, they would prefer a student body that was racially and ethnically mixed. Only two of the 259 administrators who answered the question indicated a preference for all white campuses (both males), and 23 percent indicated that they preferred predominantly black student bodies.

There are interesting differences in the preference for student bodies by the sex of the black administrators and the type of institution at which they are employed. While both black males and females cited a preference for racially mixed student populations, black males showed a greater preference for predominantly black student bodies than the females. Among the black males, 23 percent of those in the public institutions indicated their preference for a predominantly black student body, and 25 percent of those in the private institutions. Among black females, 23 percent of those employed at public institutions, and 19 percent of those at private institutions, indicated that they would choose predominantly black student bodies if they were thinking about changing jobs.

Preference for Racial and Ethnic Mix Among Faculty

The preference for a racial and ethnic mix of faculty differs only slightly from that of students. Over three-fourths (78 percent) of the black administrators indicated that they would prefer racially and ethnically mixed faculty environments if they were changing institutions; 20 percent indicated that they would prefer institutions where the faculty was predominantly black and 2 percent preferred predominantly white faculties.

Conclusion

This article used the NUL survey data on the backgrounds and the perceptions of problems by black administrators to show some of the issues facing them in predominantly white colleges and universities. The data show that the problems of black administrators have to be identified by institutional types. In the NUL survey, the black administrators at private colleges and universities appear to face much more serious problems than black administrators at publicly supported institutions.

The urgent problem facing blacks is how to slow the potential exodus of blacks from administrative positions. The likelihood of blacks losing or leaving administrative positions appears especially critical in private institutions. Over two-thirds (67 percent) of the black males and 64 percent of the females in private colleges indicated that they were likely to leave their institutions between 1981 and 1986. In public institutions, 41 percent of the males and 40 percent of the females indicated that they were likely to leave.

A second problem is one related specifically to black women. Black females who are newer employees in white universities arrived at a time when the faculty ranks were closing. Many of them have not been able to move into career tracks that would reward their abilities, and there is a possibility that many of them will soon leave higher education.

A third problem relates to the fact that many blacks of both sexes have not completed their terminal degrees. While blacks who acquired administrative positions in the early 1970s were able to bypass these requirements, this will clearly be more difficult in the 1980s. The administrative ranks are a logical move for faculty who are facing retrenchment, who lack interest in the competitiveness of completing research or publishing as a means of promotion or tenure, and who lack a Ph.D. There is a clear signal to black administrators that both the business and academic communities value Ph.D.s as evidenced by retraining programs in industry. The black administrator can not afford to become complacent.

One of the more interesting aspects of the study was that black administrators favor racially and ethnically mixed student and faculty environments. What this appears to show is that many blacks, especially the younger blacks who are products of integrated high schools and colleges, do not view all-black or predominantly black institutions as a viable means for developing their personal and career interests. Unfortunately, unless black administrators and faculty work with civil rights organizations (which the study showed that they rarely do) to alter the racial complexion of predominantly white universities, they will find themselves either unemployed or working in the newly developing institutions in the north (which are usually predominantly black or minority), or leaving higher education.

The perceptions of black administrators regarding career problems in predominantly white universities, deserve more attention. They are under tremendous stress, now that the university has become more central to the needs of industry and face more financial constraints. On a personal level, the black administrator is often the first one in his or her family to have attended or completed college; they usually relied on their own resources to complete graduate school; they were often the first black faculty member in their departments; and they have frequently found themselves intellectually isolated. The need to develop new coping strategies, on both the individual and group levels, was evident in the National Urban League Conference held at New York University in 1981 and the Conference for Black Administrators in White Universities held at MIT in 1982. The MIT conference provided workshops on stress management and it was evident that in their marginal positions, both institutionally and in the community, black administrators warrant more attention.

Developing strategies for dealing with problems that are both personal and institutional is the urgent task facing black administrators. Most black administrators working in competitive white organizations are under stress. However, as mentioned in this article, the black administrator in the white university faces an especially painful course. The university operates on arbitrary rules, and even if black administrators or faculty attempt to follow career paths that seem correct, they can find that they are not successful.

In addition to the arbitrariness of the career path, the black administrator is faced with the need to constantly absorb new information that is institutional, intellectual, and academic. Thus, black administrators must spend a great deal of time cultivating informal sources of power. This demand, plus the need to stay abreast of enough information to interact knowledgeably with faculty and white administrators (most of whom came from faculty positions), places the black administrator in a demanding position.

In addition to these demands, the black administrator must be sensitive to the needs of the black community and be able to serve as a conduit and interpreter between the university and the community. There are few, if any, institutional linkages that facilitate the flow of information, and black administrators feel that their efforts in this regard are not rewarded in terms of career security or mobility. Nonetheless, the black administrator is in a unique position to influence the relationship between the university and the black community.

Given the pressures and the possibilities facing black administrators and faculty, organizations such as the National Urban League and the NAACP need to devise ways to develop linkages. Obviously this is not simple, especially during a period when funds are limited, and the black community is faced with serious problems of economic survival. In this environment, the problems of black administrators and faculty seem miniscule and barely relevant.

However, the larger black community must be provided with information showing that the survival of black administrators is one way of maintaining linkages with predominantly white universities which are important to the long term mobility of the black population. Strategies must be designed and implemented that coordinate universities, nonprofit organizations, business and industry. One of the first strategies should be an emphasis on mentorships for black administrators and faculty who have not completed their terminal degrees. Mentorships as a strategy should also become a focal point of black administrators who are in the first two years of their jobs. Some industries assign black managers to mentors and then track their progress. Universities may be able to adopt the same policies. A second strategy should emphasize linkages between community organizations and black administrators. The white university has a variety or resources needed by local organizations (computer, research techniques, etc.) and black administrators are the key. The civil rights organizations could in turn begin to provide political support for black faculty and administrators. A third strategy is to develop personnel exchanges of black university administrators in industry and in civil rights organizations. If the thesis of this article is sound, that as technological advances continually occur black administrators must be knowledgeable about both worlds, then the need for black administrators with these skills is imperative.

These are but three strategies that should be considered. Each strategy is focused on the survival of the black administrator. Survival is key, for black administrators in predominantly white universities are significant arbiters during a period of rapid changes in intellectual and technological knowledge in which the black community is falling seriously behind and failing to address.

PART THREE

AN EXAMINATION OF BLACK UPWARD MOBILITY IN HIGHER EDUCATION

OVERVIEW

Clarence G. Williams

The theme, "An Examination of Black Upward Mobility in Higher Education," was a very timely subject for the participants at the 1982 conference. The Honorable A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr., an eloquent speaker, introduced the topic at the pleanary session. There were six concurrent workshop sessions following the plenary session, all related to black upward mobility in higher education. Each workshop focused on a specific branch of administration or on an academic component of the faculty.

The topics and presenters of the six concurrent workshops were (1) Academic Administration: Perspectives of a Chief Academic Officer (J. Herman Blake, University of California, Santa Cruz; Nancy Randolph, Harvard University; Mary Rowe, M.I.T., and John deMonchaux, M.I.T.), (2) The Faculty: Promotion and Tenure (Wesley Harris, M.I.T.; Reuben McDaniel, University of Texas; Ronald Taylor, University of Connecticut; and Audrey Williams, Baruch College), (3) Perspectives from Black College Presidents (Elias Blake, Jr., Clark College; Charles Willie, Harvard University), (4) Student Services and the Black Dean for Student Affairs Phenomenon: How to Make It Transferrable (Clarence Shelly, University of Illinois; Constantine Simonides, M.I.T., LeVester Tubbs, University of Central Florida; and Ellen Jackson, Northeastern University), (5) The Role of Black Studies in Facilitating Black Upward Mobility (William Harris, University of Virginia; Joseph Russell, Indiana University; Johnella Butler, Smith College; James McDowelle, University of Virginia; and Floyd Bass, University of Connecticut), and (6) Fiscal Affairs, Operations and Development: Areas of High Black Underrepresentation (Deborah Isom, University of Chicago; J. Ernest Nunnally, Dartmouth College; William Dickson, M.I.T.; and William Hecht, M.I.T.).

Discussions on black upward mobility in higher education provided excellent analyses and strategies which could lead to opportunities for black professionals in college administration and in teaching that only a meager few have experienced today. The workshop topics on academic administration, the faculty (promotion and tenure), and the role of black studies in facilitating black upward mobility were unique at the conference in that they concentrated primarily on issues of concern to black faculty on predominantly white campuses. Several authors (M. Rowe, A. Williams, W. Harris, R. McDaniel, R. Taylor, F. Bass, J. Butler, and J. McDowelle) provided specific outlines for black faculty members to consider relative to promotion and tenure. Charles Willie's paper on black college presidents described the invaluable services and contributions of this cadre of administrators and noted how often their roles historically have been stereotyped in American society. Blake, as a president of a black college, presented unique historical and analytical views of the roles of black administrators and the importance of their presence on predominantly white campuses. The papers by Jackson, Shelly, Simonides, Tubbs, and Dickson examined the history related to the oversupply of black administrators in the field of student affairs and general administration. In addition, each paper developed noteworthy formulas and suggestions for those black administrators who desire to transfer their experiences in student services or general administration to more specialized or technical positions in college administration.

The papers in this section of the proceedings provide a wealth of knowledge on the topic of black upward mobility in higher education. Individuals seriously interested in equal opportunity at colleges and universities in the 1980s will find these readings invaluable references for the future.

BLACK UPWARD MOBILITY IN HIGHER EDUCATION:
THE MISSIONS AND THE DREAM

A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr.

For several years I have been fortunate to have two superb secretaries.* They are thoughtful, competent, and effective. Having been seasoned on the hot anvil of emergencies, deadlines, and incessant time demands, they have developed an amazing ability to cope with both the constant pressures and the occasional failures of my staff and me to adequately express our appreciation for their importance. On their desk each has a conspicuous placard. One reads,

> PLEASE! I CAN ONLY DO TWELVE THINGS AT ONCE!

And the other reads,

> MY JOB.
>
> IT'S NOT MY PLACE TO RUN THE TRAIN,
> THE WHISTLE I CAN'T BLOW.
> IT'S NOT MY PLACE TO SAY HOW FAR
> THE TRAIN'S ALLOWED TO GO.
> IT'S NOT MY PLACE TO SHOOT OFF STEAM
> OR EVEN CLANG THE BELL.
> BUT LET THE DAMN THING JUMP THE TRACK ...
> AND SEE WHO CATCHES HELL.

As I read those placards last week, I was reminded how accurately they convey the frustrations which each of you face as administrators. Though you neither raise the endowment nor allocate the resources within the university budget, you will be among the first asked, "Why don't you have more funds for the scholarship needs of the students and the improvement of alledgedly inadequate facilities?" Though you do not choose the faculty, you will be asked to explain why there are not more minorities on your faculty, particularly in those departments where the faculty members are hostile to affirmative action and seemingly antagonistic to any pluralism which would dilute the "old boys" network. Though you are not the biological parents of the minority children in your universities, you will be asked to explain why the conduct of some minority students is less than civil, why some are functioning at less than their true potential, and why others are opting for voluntary segregation in a purportedly integrated university. When trustees fail to articulate wise policies, or presidents and their major appointees fail to implement constructive policies, when faculties fail to provide the level of inspiration and civility which students deserve and their minority colleagues demand, you will be asked to respond to these alleged deficiencies. Finally, when all around you seems to be moving from moderate chaos to total catastrophe, you are confronted with the rising voices of the frustrated, the disgruntled, and the confused. In unison they ask, "What are the black administrators doing to solve these problems? What are they being paid for?" And if you are unable to walk on water or part the Red Sea, even minorities will say, seemingly without qualms, "Off with your heads, and goodbye to your jobs."

I sympathize with your plight and am aware of the frustrations which cause your cup of grief often to overflow. In short, I recognize that it is not your place to run the "academic" train but, as my secretary's placard says, when the thing jumps off the track, more often than not you are the one who "catches hell."

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*Mrs. Bettie Lee and Ms. Dorothea Lutz.

If you did nothing more than share your burdens, informally exchange ideas, and socialize, this conference would be worthwhile just for providing a retreat and a respite from the escalating pressures you will find when you return. But, of course, I know that the impact of this conference has a more profound purpose than mere social amenities. The impact of this conference will be significant because of your intellectual depth and your exchange of ideas. I congratulate particularly the administrators at MIT for their pioneer role in planning this conference.

I. The Struggle

I have been asked to speak on "An Examination of Black Upward Mobility in Higher Education." Though the title sounds alluring, it could be somewhat deceptive. The deception occurs if one believes that the problems of black upward mobility in higher education are fundamentally different from the problems of black upward mobility in many other professions and fields or in our society in general. In reviewing the historical antecedents of black upward mobility in this nation, whether we are looking at higher education, the American legal process, or slavery, there has always been *one* constant theme, *one* common denominator, which can be easily summed up in one word -- *STRUGGLE*. The more verbose may call it "struggle and racism." The more loquacious may say that it is the "persistent, frustrating, engulfing struggle against racism and apathy." Yet, whatever synonyms one might use, no one has more poignantly and rationally captured the quintessence of the struggle than Frederick Douglass. More than a century ago, he reminded us:

> Let me give you a word of the philosophy of reform. The whole history of the progress of human liberty shows that all concessions yet made to her august claims, have been born of *earnest struggle*. The conflict has been exciting, agitating, all-absorbing, and for the time being, putting all other tumults to silence. It must do this or it does nothing. If there is no struggle there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground; they want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters.
>
> This struggle may be a moral one, or it may be a physical one, and it may be both moral and physical. But it must be a struggle. *Power concedes nothing without a demand*. *It never did and it never will*. Find out just what any people will quietly submit to and you have found out the exact measure of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them. And these will continue till they are resisted with either words or blows, or with both. The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress....

As we meet here today, we must recognize that the issue is not how can we avoid or eliminate the struggle. The issue is not how we will stop the struggle. For just as there is no magic wand which turns back the mighty roar of the ocean, there is no magic wand which will produce progress without struggle, or success without agony, or positive results without tears. The issue of upward mobility is not one of eliminating the struggle, but rather one of directing and controlling it, and determining our state of mind. Rather than cursing the struggle ahead, we must build better ships to weather the storms and torrential waves as we head to the shore of better opportunities and increased success for minorities in higher education.

As we sit in this idyllic environment of MIT, we must never forget the third Newtonian Principle which Sir Isaac articulated in 1666: "Where there is force there is an equal and opposite force or reaction." As we confront the forces of oppression, racism, and the new conservatism, we cannot capitulate, we cannot succumb. We must respond with a vigor and intellectual counterforce that turns darkness to light, despair to hope, and retrenchment to advancement.

To understand the issue of upward mobility, one must appreciate at least three facts. First, the overwhelming importance of the mission of higher education; second, the historical roots of racial oppression and progress in this land; and third, if we are ever to overcome present adversities, the necessity of having dreams, almost irrational dreams, and futuristic vision.

II. The Mission of Higher Education

From my view, I can imagine no mission more important for minorities than the realization of steady success, high achievement, and increasing excellence in higher education. Higher education is the most effective passport for eradicating the pathology of racism, poverty, and despair. In many ways all of you in higher education are the missionaries of the 1980's. To the extent that you are able to get talented black students into your colleges and thereafter keep them motivated and on schedule, you will be the implementers of the most precious dream of minorities. To paraphrase and modify the great peroration of Martin Luther King, our dream must be, "Free at last; Thank God Almighty, Free, Educated, and Excellent at Last."

Michael E. Parrish's recent book, Felix Frankfurter and His Times, the Reform Years, is perhaps more revealing for what it points out about Jewish culture than for what it says about Justice Frankfurter. It offers several great insights to blacks in higher education. According to Parrish, Abraham Cahan, "the admiring editor of the Jewish Daily Forward," described City College of New York in the early 1900's:

> On Second Avenue at around 8 o'clock every morning, one can see hundreds of Jewish boys from 14 to 19 years old walking with books under their arms. Their clothes are mostly poor and old, but their Jewish faces often shine with spiritual joy and bear the stamp of lively, active minds...these are Jewish college boys.

Parrish goes on to stress that these boys "survive[d] the rigorous curriculum and harsh discipline" and went on to "make their mark in business, the professions, and intellectual life."

I know of no "minority" group in this country which has made as much progress in the field of higher education as American Jews. Whether viewing medicine, law, the sciences, economics, education, or the humanities, one will find scores of effective, thoughtful Jewish scholars who are on the cutting edge of their fields. I speak of their accomplishments with respect and esteem. In many ways, their success in the academic field should be a model for blacks. While concerned about all students at your universities, you, as administrators, must keep in mind the relationship between what Abraham Cahan called the steady development of faces which "shine with spiritual joy and bear the stamp of lively, active minds" and high achievement. To the extent that we are able to develop active minds and intellectual spirits, we will proportionately eradicate the barriers of racism, poverty, and despair.

But we will fail in our mission if, in our colleges, we do not have a sense of proportion when we define our heroes and rank our priorities. Our greatest heroes must be those who, as Cahan said when he was speaking of the Jewish community, have lively minds and have achieved academically. Intellectual excellence must never be merely a secondary or tertiary priority for blacks. We must develop a sense of proportion. We must produce massive numbers of students who are as skilled in the principles of economics as some are at tackling on the football field. We must produce thousands of students who are as skilled in comprehending the subtleties of Sir Isaac Newton as hundreds are in dunking a basketball. Many of us must reach for the highest rung of excellence in the sciences and the humanities at the same time that a few are stretching for new records in the one hundred yard dash. Without these kinds of priorities and without massive intellectual attainment, our ability to sing soul music and dribble basketballs will be merely de minimis accomplishments.

III. The Historical Roots of Racial Oppression and Racial Progress

Some years ago I had lunch with a bright, black, recent Yale Law School graduate. He had gone to a predominantly black college for his undergraduate degree and during his three years in law school had become utterly awed and overwhelmed by Yale -- so much so that he was more "Yalie" than many fourth generation Yale alumni I have known. While at Yale he had been told that he was bright, and after strolling through the gothic buildings in New Haven, he became convinced that he was different from all other black people.

As we conversed, I noted his adroit but subtle disparagement of Martin Luther King and other civil rights leaders. Finally, I asked him if he could live in any era of his choice, which one he would prefer. He drew heavily on his cigarette and paused, acting almost as if I were Socrates asking him one of the world's most probing philosophical questions. First he said, "I am not certain whether I would prefer to live in the Age of Reason or the Renaissance period. Probably I would prefer living during the time of Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and Benjamin Franklin because they were such original, effective, and creative thinkers." He then smiled, probably feeling that his answer had been far more profound than my question, and awaited my response. My reply was quick and blunt. I said, "If you had lived in that era, you would not have been a conferee or colleague of Thomas Jefferson or Patrick Henry. Instead, you might have been their slave." Solely because he had forgotten his roots, he seemed shocked by my bluntness. He exemplified how easy it is for one to become oblivious to the long struggle that has preceded our present modest success.

To emphasize my point, might I ask each of you, as black administrators, what was Thomas Jefferson's most significant writing? Was it the Declaration of Independence, the Declaration on the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms, or his famed March, 1801 inaugural address in which he spoke of the minority rights of one's political adversaries? Yet, without denigrating any of those famous documents, I could argue with equal plausibility that one of his most famous writings was the following advertisement which appeared in the Virginia Gazzette:

> Run away from the subscriber in Albemarle, a mulatto slave called Sandy, about 35 years of age, his stature is rather low, inclining to corpulence, and his complexion light; he is a shoemaker by trade, in which he uses his left hand principally, can do coarse carpenters work, and is something of a horse jockey; he is greatly addicted to drink, and when drunk is insolent and disorderly, in his conversation he swears much, and his behaviour is artful and knavish. He took with him a white horse, much scarred with traces, of which it is expected he will endeavour to dispose; he also carried his shoemakers tools, and will probably endeavor to gain employment that way. Whoever conveys the said slave to me in Albemarle, shall have 40 S. reward, if taken up within the county, 4.1 if elsewhere within the colony, and 10.1 if in any other colony, from
>
> THOMAS JEFFERSON

What my Yale friend failed to recognize was the inconsistency between Jefferson's rhetoric and commitment to principles of natural law and "self-evident truths," and his conduct in owning slaves.

Patrick Henry, on March 23, 1775, stood in St. John's Episcopal Church in Richmond before the Virginia Convention exhorting his colleagues to support his resolutions for organizing and arming the Virginia militia. He asserted:

> Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, almighty God. I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death! (emphasis added).

Did that young Yale graduate ever wonder how Patrick Henry could have proclaimed, "Give me liberty or give me death," while maintaining a system which every day deprived his slaves of their liberty? Or how Patrick Henry could have protested that the colonists were in "chains and slavery" because of the King's policies on taxation and representation at the very time thousands of blacks literally were in chains of slavery so that Patrick Henry and others could have profitable plantations? Did Patrick Henry and his compatriots have more of a right to liberty and freedom from the King than did blacks from the enslavement which Patrick Henry and his compatriots imposed upon them? Patrick Henry confessed to his moral duality when he asserted, "[W]ould anyone believe that I am master of slaves of my own purchase! I am drawn along by ye general inconvenience of living without them; I will not, I cannot justify it."

Why have I cited Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry? Is it to disparage them? No! Is it to deny that they made significant contributions to this country? Of course not, for I know that they have. Rather, I am suggesting that a powerful lesson can be learned from their history: that even individuals as philosophical and reflective as Thomas Jefferson, as eloquent as Patrick Henry, and as brave as George Washington could, nevertheless, contribute to the injustice which thousands of innocent human beings suffered.

Thus, it is important that we evaluate and define our heroes and objectively evaluate our own institutions. For even at our most prestigious schools we know that on every major human rights issues there have been some alumni who were formidable advocates for equal justice for blacks, and others who were staunch antagonists seeking to impede our advancement and besmirch our dignity. This fact is demonstrated quite dramatically in the race relations cases which have come before the United States Supreme Court.

In considering the oppression of black people, it is indisputable that, when ranking the most racially destructive decisions ever written by the United States Supreme Court, the 1896 case of Plessy v. Ferguson is second to only the Dred Scott case. The impact it had in dashing the hopes of black Americans for true equality in their own native land remains unrivaled. Its author was Justice Henry Billings Brown, who went to both the Harvard and Yale Law Schools. Some of my Yale Law School friends suggest that Justice Brown's Harvard training rather than his Yale education was reflected in this tragic 1896 opinion. But that facile answer does not explain why George Shiras, who was educated at both Yale College and Yale Law School, was also in the majority in Plessy v. Ferguson. And Yale-trained Shiras was joined in that majority opinion by one of Harvard Law School's most revered graduates, Horace Gray.

Perhaps all alumni of Yale and Harvard should be reminded that classic dissent in Plessy was not written by a son of Yale or Harvard, or any Ivy League law school. Justice John Marshall Harlan, a graduate of Centre College, who briefly studied law at Transylvania University in Kentucky, was the moral and legal giant in that case. He reminded us:

> ... in view of the Constitution, in the eye of the law, there is in this country no superior, dominant, ruling class of citizens. There is no caste here. Our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law. The humblest is the peer of the most powerful. The law regards man as man, and takes no account of his surroundings or of his color when his civil rights as guaranteed by the supreme law of the land are involved. It is, therefore, to be regretted that this high tribunal, the final expositor of the fundamental law of the land, has reached the conclusion that it is competent for a State to regulate the enjoyment by citizens of their civil rights solely upon the basis of race.
>
> In my opinion, the judgment this day rendered will, in time, prove to be quite as pernicious as the decision made by this tribunal in the Dred Scott case.
>
> * * *
>
> The destinies of the two races, in this country, are indissolubly linked together, and the interests of both require that the common government of all shall not permit the seeds of race hate to be planted under the sanction of law. What can more certainly arouse race hate, what can more certainly create and perpetuate a feeling of distrust between these races, than state enactments, which, in fact, proceed on the ground that colored citizens are so inferior and degraded that they cannot be allowed to sit in public coaches occupied by white citizens?

Thus, it was a son of a Kentucky slaveholder, and not the son of an Ivy League university, who wrote the most omniscient decision. If Harlan had been followed by the majority, today's irrational polarization and never-ending debate on desegregation, busing, and affirmative action perhaps would have been prevented. If Harlan had been followed, the practices which the law sanctioned so long under Plessy, and which created and maintained racial segregation for almost a century, would not have been legally possible, and racial disparities would not have existed to their present extent.

IV. The Future

The recitation of persons from presitigious universities who have contributed to the advancement of racial justice and who have opposed minimum standards of decency for blacks, women, and other minorities explains in part why we meet here today. We are here because equal justice for black Americans and other minorities, including women, is still far less a certainty than many thought it would be. The progress of today could be destroyed almost overnight by administrators who are unconcerned about the weak, the poor, the dispossessed, or the less powerful. There is still a need today for vigorous advocates who understand the plight of minorities, blacks, women, and others outside of the mainstream, and who recognize that all must be permitted to share the American dream.

The battles which many others waged earlier to overturn Plessy v. Ferguson, to integrate schools and restaurants, and to assure the rudimentary right to vote without fear and violence in primary elections will not be the primary focus of the current struggle. The battleground has switched to a more sophisticated arena. Opponents of racial progress no longer stand in front of schoolhouse doors shouting, "Segregation forever!" Instead, they manipulate budgets so as to starve programs for racial advancement rather than proclaim that blacks aren't wanted. The confrontation will no longer be with racist sheriffs who shout from Birmingham or Montgomery, Alabama, "Niggers go home," and then turn fire hoses on them. Today the struggle over progress or retrogression will be determined by who occupies the White House, the State House, the City Hall, the Legislature, the Judiciary, and the executive offices of our major universities, businesses, and institutions of power. Yet, for our generation, the current battles are as critical as those waged more than a century and a half ago to eradicate slavery. Though proclaimed by individuals who purportedly speak with sincerity and civility and who use egalitarian phrases, an executive decision can be as devastating as the fire hose of two decades ago or the blunt directive which said, "Negroes not permitted to enter."

The problems of today cannot be solved by emotional marches from Montgomery to Selma or the exhilarating joining together in marches on Washington. The battles for human rights and racial justice will be led by individuals of extraordinary intelligence who can sort out budgetary doublespeak and Madison Avenue slogans, who can emphasize and understand the implications of unemployment, deteriorating education, inadequate health care, and escalating prison populations.

In many ways you here today are blessed in having, through an accident of birth and good fortune, exceptional ability. The issue, however, is how will we use our talents, and whether exceptional talent and ability will be backed up by exceptional judgment and commitment. None of us should become part of the silent majority, oblivious to those who have far less. We must not believe that our mission has been accomplished because we are invited to sophisticated cocktail parties where, along with martinis, diatribes flow on the failures of today. While we must be concerned about the plight of black Americans, we cannot be chauvinistic or sexist. We must be advocates for equal opportunity and justice for all Americans. We must be the critical difference, utilizing and absorbing every opportunity and option to implement the dream of which poets such as Langston Hughes have spoken.

> There is a dream in the land
> With its back against the wall.
> By muddled names and strange
> Sometimes the dream is called.
>
> There are those who claim
> This dream for theirs alone--
> A sin for which, we know,
> They must atone.

Unless shared in common
Like sunlight and like air,
The dream will die for lack
Of substance anywhere.

The dream knows no frontier or tongue,
The dream no class or race.
The dream cannot be kept secure
In any one locked place.

This dream today embattled,
With its back against the wall--
To save the dream for one
It must be saved for all.

BUILDING "MENTORING" FRAMEWORKS FOR BLACKS (AND OTHER PEOPLE) AS PART OF AN EFFECTIVE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY ECOLOGY

Mary Rowe

Educational institutions need mentoring structures and everyone in them needs mentoring. This paper will discuss five major points in building institutional devices which help minorities find the *multiple helping resources*, which many people think of as "mentoring," and which are now seen by many people to be indispensable for career success.*

Each of these points may be seen as *necessary, but not sufficient* by itself to establish the supportive ecology in which excellent mentoring is available to blacks (and other people). My own view is that the barriers to adequate mentoring for blacks are sufficiently high that a successful framework--a successful mentoring ecology--requires many energy sources: the creative support of top management networks, receptive individuals seeking out helping resources, and specific programs tailored to each kind of worker in each kind of organization. Each of these "energy sources" has its own role to play; all are needed** for an effective equal opportunity ecology.

1. Legitimation as well as leadership

First, whatever the institution, the top administration must announce and then exemplify commitment to equal opportunity. In formal and informal situations top management must be seen to have a coherent, consistent policy. This policy should appear frequently: for example, in *Policies and Procedures*, in recruitment manuals, in after-dinner speeches and in hallway conversations. The policy should explicitly include discussions of providing multiple helping resources for blacks *as a matter of organizational policy*.

This frequently announced commitment from the top is important for several reasons. Obviously all important organizational policies will be enunciated from the top in every significant organization--and equal opportunity must be seen to be important if it is to work. Equal opportunity work must be seen to be *legitimate*, work-time work.

Responsible, effective leadership in encouraging senior people to be mentors of course requires that a top administration encourage mentoring for *all* junior people, minority and non-minority. I do not recommend a separate special guidance program for minorities only. Special programs of this kind are of questionable legality and morality and often lack long-term credibility and influence. What minorities *do* need is an explicit legitimation of their *equal* right to guidance and sponsors. They also frequently need the extra supports provided by their own networks, and a specific attention to blacks within general programs.

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*In this paper I use "mentor" in its widest possible meaning to refer to coaching, guidance, sponsorship, etc., in the context set forth by Garrison and Davis--then (black) administrators at MIT and Bell Labs respectively-- (MIT Sloan School Masters thesis, 1979), and by Shapiro, Haseltine and Rowe (Sloan Management Review, Spring, 1978).

**Elsewhere I have written of two other institutional structures which I consider indispensable to establishing an effective equal opportunity ecology: non-union grievance procedures and a 1:1 recruitment system.

2. Fostering Responsible Networks of Blacks

As part of the organizational policy on equal opportunity, and as an integral part of building mentoring frameworks, responsible black networks should be encouraged. Grassroots networks of this kind have been repeatedly shown to be indispensable to sustained progress for "non-traditional" people like blacks and women. Intra- and inter-organizational networks share information, provide mutual support, teach skills, and function very powerfully as informal channels for inquiries and grievances. Such networks may provide the only reliable information on equal opportunity concerns which gets to top administrators. They will let top management know quickly which helping resources are most needed and where. Networks tend also to "cool out" socially irresponsible members, while providing leverage to those with responsible concerns and complaints. Finally, these groups can provide role models as well as sponsors for their members on a highly efficient basis, even in organizations where there are only a very few senior blacks.

3. Maintaining Close Relations Between Black Networks and Top Administrators

Networks of blacks do grow, whether or not they are encouraged. Where they are fostered and respected and consulted they are a powerful force for non-polarized and steady progress. Covert, defensive groups on the other hand, tend to polarize issues because they can see no alternatives. Then mentoring, coaching and role modelling can become quite negative as polarization increases. And polarization often leads to backlash and damage from backlash of a kind many people would prefer to avoid.

Moreover, covert networks cannot function efficiently to prevent trouble by an orderly presentation of concerns and grievances. Individuals who have serious complaints need clear channels for presenting their concerns if they are not to turn to the courts and to other ways of "taking things in their own hands."

Maintaining close communications between the top and the minority groups permits each to learn from the other. White managers learn what blacks want and need and what their special concerns are. Blacks learn what is realistically available to them, about budget constraints; they learn how to focus and balance their own issues in a general perspective, and how "the system works."

4. Explicit Training of Minorities to Take Responsibility for Finding Their Own Multiple Helping Resources

Civil rights advocates have long discussed the importance for blacks of their taking responsibility and having some control over their own careers. In practice this is also the only effective way of finding adequate "mentoring" for black people.

I believe the best framework for blacks to learn what they need to know about productive and successful careers requires that all young blacks be specifically taught and encouraged to seek their own guides and sponsors. Junior people will be able to find adequate mentoring much more easily if it is legitimated and fostered by top administrators and by their own black networks. But it is also critical that they themselves be receptive; that they seek out the guides, sponsors and coaches they need and want to reach their goals. Junior people can be taught to do this by guidelines in writing, in workshops, by senior people, by their supervisors, by each other. (See Appendix: "Go Find Yourself A Mentor," for an example.)

5. Building Specific Mentoring Programs

Specific programs to encourage sponsorship, guidance and coaching are vital for employees everywhere, and for faculty and students as well, in educational institutions. In my opinion mentoring programs should be designed

(a) for everyone, male and female, minority and non-minority, good performers and poor performers, faculty, staff, students and employees. There should be specific safeguards to be sure such programs work at least equally well for women and minorities;

(b) around a performance evaluation program;

(c) with a component to be sure someone is teaching women and minorities to seek and be receptive to mentorship, so that mentors and mentees are seeking each other simultaneously;

(d) uniquely for the needs of each different institution, each different pay classification, each type of student.

A good mentoring program should be for everyone. For example, in a university the concept of mentoring needs to be developed for employees, especially support staff, as well as for faculty and students. Mentoring must be a part of the local ecology, an attitude toward everyone, a part of a systematic framework of support for career development and lifetime growth for everyone, or it will not be effective for minorities and women who are usually located in inferior positions. Eroding occupational segregation requires that powerful levers for change, like mentoring programs, extend across pay classification lines.

Programs need to be for white males as well as for blacks and women. Most people find general programs more acceptable, more likely to be considered legal and more easily understood. General programs are also necessary to create a systematic framework for emphasis on career development. Also, in my opinion, the most effective mentors for anyone, in a given environment, are likely to be people who are traditionally indigenous to that environment. White males are probably the most influential mentors in a research university, black females may be the best mentors in an inner-city day care center, and so on. Thus the enthusiastic support of white males for the mentoring program in a university will be very important for everyone. Equal effectiveness for minorities and women can be fostered by having programs designed and monitored by minority and female staff as well as others, but the programs need to be general.

Programs should be for poorer performers as well as good ones. For example, it is vital to provide guidance for junior faculty who are good enough to be promoted and tenured. It is even more important to provide excellent mentoring for junior faculty who will not be kept. Every such person should leave the college or university to a good job, having been helped by mentors to plan realistically and successfully for the future. Such support means that those who leave will continue to speak well of the original institution, which is important for recruiting. Peaceful severance means lower costs for the original institution. And, most important, going to something, rather than being rejected, enhances the life of the individual who must leave, instead of causing pain and damage.

A good mentoring program should begin with a twice-yearly discussion for every junior person with his or her supervisor (faculty advisor, department head, etc.). Corporations usually have some kind of regular performance appraisal system upon which one can build; universities often do not have even this much feedback and support to junior people.

An adequate performance appraisal/mentoring discussion should include at least the following points:

1) Where has the junior person been doing well?

2) How could he or she do better?

3) Where does the supervisor or department head think the job is going? (What will the needs of the department be?)

4) What does the junior person want from the future? What skills are being used? How would this person like to grow on the job and in future jobs?

For faculty members these discussions should include frank appraisals of the possibilities for promotion and tenure, sources of grant funds, identification of possible mentors around the country or around the world, and so on. For administrative and research and support staff these discussions should be specific and detailed as to strengths and weaknesses, possible other helping resources, potential career ladders.

Supervisory feedback should thus form the backbone of mentoring programs in every institution. Most corporations require performance appraisals. However few institutions and especially few universities have made sure that career development for junior people is a major and mandatory component of performance evaluation discussions.

Institutions should identify people who can work with junior members of the community, to teach them how to seek adequate advice and mentoring. Women and minorities particularly need to have someone who will legitimate and foster their search for adequate guidance. This person can be a Dean, an Assistant to the President, a Vice President for Personnel or any other senior person.

The purpose of this function is to create an atmosphere in which the institution requires senior people to give guidance and encourages junior people to seek guidance. It is only in such circumstances that cross-sex, cross-race diffidence on both sides will be transcended, and that minorities and women will get adequate sponsorship.

Some institutions simply assign mentors on a first-year or permanent basis. Temporary assignments can be very helpful. But I believe long-term mentorships work best, at least in universities, if they develop naturally in a context where both sides are supposed to be looking for each other. So I recommend that instead of assigning mentors, that an institution assign a few people to teach the acquisition of mentorship to juniors while monitoring performance evaluation by seniors.

Good mentoring programs should be built around the specific needs and customs of each organization and specifically for different kinds of employees and students. For example, guidance and support to post-docs must occur within the customs of each different discipline and tailored to a specific university's expectations of principal investigators. Mentoring for administrators in a small college may require someone with considerable knowledge of the regional labor market. A person who is teaching junior faculty to develop their own mentors must be finely tuned to different disciplinary practices. Custom-tailoring in this way is not particularly difficult; in fact it is easier than trying to graft a mentoring program from one institution onto another. And usually there are very successful people in each field who are glad to be able to help advise on how programs should develop in their own laboratory or department.

Institutions which show leadership in this new area have everything to gain. Increasing the available pool of skills and abilities is vital to the success of most organizations; after all, by 1990, probably only about 1/3 of the college-age population will be white and male! In addition most institutions employ and serve blacks. They can do so more profitably and efficiently by understanding better their black employees and clients. If they do so ahead of their competitors they can gain an enviable reputation that lasts for generations, and which in turn helps to continue attracting the ablest faculty and employees, students and clients. Finally, as we plan for coming years, the practice of true equal opportunity is patently less costly, in terms of litigation, emotional damage and other problems. Since mentoring frameworks appear as important for blacks as they always have been for white men, institutions stand only to gain by building such frameworks in an orderly, responsible fashion.

APPENDIX

GO FIND YOURSELF A MENTOR

Mary Rowe, Ph.D.
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M.I.T.

June 1982

One of my major bits of advice for nearly everyone who comes to see me is to find appropriate mentors. A mentor can be any race or sex or age. You do not have to like him or her; therefore, you have a very wide range of people to choose from, including both pleasant people and those you consider to be dinosaurs. Anyone can help you so long as this person is competent and responsible.

Often young people are told to find role models, preferably same-sex, same-race, likable ones, hopefully of the same sexual orientation and value structure. One is told to find this saint and then learn to be like her or him. Saints however are few (especially same-sex, same-race, etc. ones). Therefore, it is easier to find a mentor. Even a dinosaur can be encouraged to be a mentor, just so long as she or he is competent.

A mentor is a person who comments on your work, criticizing errors and praising excellence. This person sets high standards and teaches you to set and meet your own high standards. A mentor teaches you how The System works. Most important, you learn how to succeed in your studies, how to succeed in your work, how to get promoted on the basis of excellent work.

Mentors teach you which intellectual problems are important and how to recognize them yourself. They apprentice you to proposal writing, conference presentation, resumé construction. They introduce you to important networks, talk about your work to others, and find you jobs. Initially, they are your evaluators and the linkage to other evaluators. They teach you finally how to set your own goals, how to evaluate yourself realistically and how to succeed.

Many blacks find it hard to acquire a mentor. Senior blacks are exhausted and occasionally jealous of their uniqueness. Senior whites often ignore blacks; senior men often advance on black women as sex objects, or they avoid black women because they are "sex objects," and wives would complain. Young blacks are often quiet and cautious. What can junior blacks do to find a mentor, even if they feel rather cautious?

Nearly any competent and honorable person can be helped to become your mentor. I mean this, of course, not in the Machiavellian, exploitative sense, but in the context of respectful, honest behavior on your part. Take responsibility for finding decent mentors.

First you need to observe carefully what kind of person you are dealing with. Be receptive to advice and counsel offered to you from responsible people even if you do not particularly like them. Stay away from people who want to use you or hurt you, even if you are attracted to them. Because "negative" or destructive mentorship is also possible, it is especially important never to engage emotionally with someone who may wish to hurt you. Do not pick fights or respond to provocation from negative mentors; stay away from such people.

When you find honorable people who know more than you in any important arena, seek them out. Be both receptive and responsive. You do not want to "use" other people yourself;

the reward to others from helping you lies in your own responsiveness and creativity. Thank others for any help you get, give credit with scrupulous care to those who help, bring credit to your mentors for having sponsored you. Here are some possible steps.

1. Introduce yourself; make the first contact - always on a professional subject. Go up after class, write a letter to an expert, asking an important question; comment on his/her last article; send your articles to her/him in draft for comment.

2. Do it again, respectfully and intelligently.

3. Begin to ask for help about your errors and excellence. Cherish the good advice you are given and thank your mentor when he or she is helpful. Say it even if s/he brushes it off or says "it was nothing." Be sure you acknowledge all the help you are given.

4. See if you can apprentice yourself, as a research helper, budget assistant, middle-level administrator, proposal writer.

5. As you get to know your mentor, be friendly, open and very professional. Get to know her or his spouse; introduce your own friends. If you are female, you should avoid sex with a mentor at all costs unless you plan marriage or are so good that nothing can hurt you. If a lot of work is accomplished, make sure you get credit for it. Try to be independent enough to move to another job or another city to advance if that becomes necessary.

6. Seek out several mentors if it seems at all appropriate. Nobody is or can be perfect at everything. You may learn different things from different people.

7. Do whatever you can to help your mentors forever after, and give credit in public for the help you've gotten. This reinforces good behavior everywhere. It will encourage you to become a first-rate mentor. (With care and practice you may even become a good role model for mentors!)

TENURE AND PROMOTION OF BLACK FACULTY:
THE TRI-STATE AREA

Audrey Williams

Tenure and faculty rank define status in academe. Untenured faculty are powerless, while tenured faculty determine who will sit on tenure, promotion and faculty governance committees. In a recent New York State meeting concerning blacks in private and public higher education, Dean James Malone said,

> "While the titles President and Dean loom large in the eyes of the naive, it is important to note that full professors and associate professors staff the college and university committees, and it is within the committee structure that the work of the institution takes place."[1]

Faculty rank determines who can elect and be elected to department chairmanships. Faculty rank also determines who will be considered for deanships, vice presidencies, and presidencies. It is therefore important for us to determine the extent to which blacks are receiving tenure and promotion, thus making them eligible to be part of the institution's decisionmaking machinery.

Traditional Tenure and Promotion Criteria

Traditional tenure and promotion criteria require an undefined combination of good teaching evaluations, publications of research in the discipline, and service to the academic community through committee participation. The black faculty member of a predominantly white institution often has difficulty meeting these criteria because of the nature of a predominantly white campus. Since most of the students and faculty at a predominantly white campus are not black, the black faculty member at such an institution is sought out by the black students on campus who are experiencing feelings of alienation, fear and frustration. As a teacher and a black person, the black faculty member is forced to spend many extra hours after class helping black students who may not even be in his or her classes. This is something that we black folks say is part of our responsibility, but unfortunately the time put in helping black students to survive at a predominantly white institution does not count toward tenure or promotion. Since there is usually a conspicuous absence of blacks on tenure and promotion committees, those committees can not fathom that black students are using black faculty members' time, because it is difficult to accept the fact that students from your class who do not stay after class or make appointments with you would spend time with a faculty member who wasn't one of their teachers. The fact is that the black faculty member is sought out by students who need help in surviving at a predominantly white institution.

Teaching and student evaluations are described as part of the criteria for tenure and promotion but are too often debatable. If the students rate a black professor as an excellent teacher, the committee can interpret that as meaning that academic standards are relaxed and students were making a popularity judgment rather than an academic evaluation. If the students rate the black faculty member as "average" or "below average" the students probably decided to be objective. There is little chance of getting a perfect score for teaching because the classroom observer in peer evaluations usually tries to provide "constructive criticism."

Research and publications constitute the second area that is reviewed for tenure or promotion consideration. The hiring of some blacks at predominantly white colleges and universities is defined often as the institution's demonstrated commitment to affirmative action. Lack of productivity is the racially neutral term used most often to explain the termination of black faculty.[2]

The lack of publishing productivity on the part of black faculty is probably due to the black experience in higher education and the difference in values of black and white Americans. Many of the black faculty who went to predominantly white colleges and universities in the seventies came from predominantly black colleges. As recently as 1976, the Department of Health Education and Welfare data revealed that of the 18.1% of blacks who were enrolled for the first time in college, approximately 60% were enrolled at historically black institutions. Despite the fact that there is a positive approach to student survival at predominantly black institutions, there is also generally a scarcity of funds which limits publishing possibilities.[3]

Robert Staples, the noted sociologist, explains the plight of black faculty who begin their careers at predominantly black institutions and then join the faculties of predominantly white colleges:

> Even when the black scholar is established, the hurdles continue. At the publish or perish schools there is a strong emphasis on publications in learned journals. Black scholars face double jeopardy here: many have not published in the right places. The reasons are obvious and understandable. Any black scholar who has been teaching at a Negro College simply has not had time to publish. He may have had to teach anywhere from 15 to 21 units a semester. Not only does publication go unrewarded at these colleges, it is regarded as a suspicious activity in some Negro academic circles. In sociology, the quantitative nature of the articles in most sociology journals turns off black sociologists. If five black sociologists have published an article in the two major sociology journals in the past eight years, I would be very surprised.[4]

The publishing opportunities available to whites do not exist for blacks. Traditionally white scholars have served on the editorial boards for "learned journals." The whites have historically invited white collegues or graduate students to co-author books and articles about subjects that tend to exclude the black experience. The deans and department chairs at predominantly white institutions use criteria similar to editors for awarding release time for scholarly research. A recent study in the Chronicle of Higher Education reported that refereed journals did not objectively select articles. The selection was generally based upon the prestige of the author's college or university rather than the quality or content of the article.[5]

In 1974 Moore and Wagstaff published "Black Educators in White Colleges," a discussion and analysis of the questionnaires completed by over 3,000 black faculty and/or administrators at predominantly white two year or four year colleges. They found that the majority of their respondents were not producing written materials. For example, their data showed the following:

> "Eighty-eight percent of the respondents in two year colleges and 80 percent in four year institutions have not written a book; 93 percent in two year colleges and 91 percent in four year institutions have not edited a book; 79 percent in both categories of institutions have not reviewed a book; and 83 percent in two year colleges and 66 percent in four year institutions have not written a single article. Co-authoring was even less engaged in than solo authoring."[6]

The third criterion, college and community service, requires time and energy. The politically astute junior, untenured faculty member will participate as much as possible in those campus committees open to him/her. The black faculty member is once again torn between professional advancement and black community responsibility. The black faculty member who works with students to establish a meaningful liaison with the nearest black community and the university has little time to serve on campus social committees, which provide an opportunity for members to meet senior faculty. At the time that the black person comes up for tenure or promotion consideration, there will be committee members who will correctly say that they have never seen him or her at college events.

There is a paucity of information about the status of black faculty at predominantly white higher education institutions. Several federal committees and the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education have cited the need for promptly collecting and publishing data on sex and ethnicity of degree recipients and employees.[7]

Thanks to the efforts of individuals at the National Urban League and the City University Affirmative Action Office there has been an attempt to collect data about black faculty in public and private colleges and universities. This data gives us an indication of what is happening to black faculty in the tri-state area (Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York) and allows us to compare their plight with national figures that describe blacks at predominantly white institutions.

In 1979 the Ford Foundation awarded a grant to the National Urban League (N.U.L.). The purpose of the N.U.L. project was to "examine the impediments to the hiring, promotion and tenure of blacks and Hispanics in predominantly white colleges and universities."[8] The study also analyzed the problems facing Asians in academia. They were considered a contrast group to many of the problems faced by blacks and Hispanics.

The study identified approximately 3,000 non-white professionals in the tri-state area. Of the respondents, 39.2% were black males, and 31.2% were black females. For the purpose of this discussion, I will review the data pertaining to the following:

1. national and regional trends;
2. length of time in academia; and
3. trends at CUNY.

National Trends

During the 1970's there was a disparity in the salaries of white and black administrators in higher education institutions. The median salary for white males was the highest ($20,664), followed by black males who had a median salary of $16,975. The median salaries for white and black females were less than those of males; white females had a median salary of $12,359 and black females were a little higher with a median of $13,360. The disparity in salary was replicated in the faculty ranks where white males had a median salary of $16,566 and black males, $14,840. Female faculty had a lower median salary than white or black males. The median salary for white females was $13,772 and for black females even lower, $12,907. (EEO-6, 1975)

There were 5,910 black college and university faculty in 1960. (Fleming, Gill, and Swinton, 1978) Blacks were 3% of the national professoriate. Twenty years later the number had increased to 20,212, which when looked at in isolation can be misleading, because it represents only 4.4% of the national professoriate. The percentages tell us that there were additions nationally to the faculty; the black figure merely represents a maintenance of the status quo.

The national trends tend to be replicated in the tri-state region. Blacks have lower tenure rates in private colleges than they do in public colleges. Blacks tend to be concentrated at the lower faculty ranks in both public and private institutions.

Lengths of Time in Academia

About half of the black faculty respondents in the N.U.L. study had been employed in higher education for ten years or less. Of that number 33% had been in higher education between eleven and fifteen years. The length of time in higher education appeared to have little effect on faculty rank for blacks because two-thirds of the black males who were employed one to five years were assistant professors, as were 44% of those employed six to ten years, and 25% of those employed for eleven to fifteen years.[9] Full professorships came for most blacks after they had been in higher education for over sixteen years.[10]

Black women are new to predominantly white colleges and universities. This is reflected in their rank. According to the N.U.L. report, 68% of the black female respondents achieved their rank after 1976, including 63% of the full professors, 57% of the associates, and 60% of the assistant professors.[11]

Public four year colleges within universities and public two year colleges showed the largest concentrations of all minorities. Of the respondents, 48.8% of the black males were in public college within a university prior to 1970, while 38.3% were in a private four year college.[12]

Data on black women again reflects their late arrival to academia: 62.2% of the black females were hired after 1970 at public colleges and 84% at two year schools.[13]

Tenure Trend at CUNY

The data in Table 1 describe regular faculty tenure decisions, not including certificates of continuous employment or early tenure group. The data in Table 1 suggest that blacks at CUNY are receiving tenure at a percentage close to the CUNY percentage. Black females from the period of 1979-81 received a higher percentage of tenure awards at community colleges. Black males received a higher percentage of tenure awards at senior colleges than they did at community colleges.

At CUNY the certificate of continuous employment (CCE) is a tenure-like award given at the end of five years to lecturers who do not have the doctorate. The CCE is awarded after review and recommendations from the faculty committees that make recommendations for reappointments and tenure for the assistant professor rank and above. Table II lists the percentage of CCE's awarded at senior and community colleges to blacks and whites, and the total percentage for senior and community colleges. Each year for the period from 1976 to 1981, the percentage of CCE's awarded to whites was less than the total in each type of college. The opposite was true for blacks from 1976 through 1980. By 1981 blacks had a percentage of CCE's equal to that of the senior and community colleges within the CUNY system. Such data suggests that blacks who survive the system are getting tenure at lower levels and therefore are at the lowest rung of the ladder in academe. Whites are coming into the university at higher levels, such as assistant professors, and thus have only a small percentage of their group eligible for the CCE.

Table III shows the distribution of faculty by rank and ethnicity (black or white) in City University of New York for the 1980-81 academic year. For the total of professorial ranks and all ranks with the exception of assistant professor, blacks at CUNY constitute a lower percentage of tenured faculty. At the lowest professorial rank, assistant professor, the percentage of tenured blacks is higher (66.4%) than whites at the level (56.7%) or than the CUNY total of 56.8%. At the full and associate professor level, black percentages are about five points lower than whites for each level. The percentage of blacks at the instructor level is lower (4.5%) than the CUNY total of 7.8%. At this level whites have approximately 10% of their total tenured. These figures strongly suggest that blacks seldom get a tenure award at the instructor level in CUNY. The percentage for blacks, whites, and the university as a whole is almost identical to the lecturer at the CCE level. This is problematic for blacks because the figures clearly show that blacks are concentrated at the lowest faculty levels in CUNY although they compose approximately one-third of the faculty for the tri-state area.

Summary

The black faculty presence in higher education at predominantly white institutions has remained relatively constant despite the fact that the number of black faculty has increased. The percentage of blacks nationally has not significantly increased in the last decade.

An analysis of data from the National Urban League and the CUNY Affirmative Action Office shows that blacks who receive tenure generally are at the lowest faculty ranks, and at most levels have a median salary that is less than their white counterparts. Black females are the newest group to enter the faculty ranks. Their median salaries are generally lower than those of white or black males.

There is a critical need to encourage college and university committees to broaden the criteria for tenure and promotion to include relevant features of the black experience.

Private and public funding sources must support graduate and postgraduate programs for black faculty. There must be funds to support the completion of graduate studies for blacks who are currently tenured in the lowest ranks and who have little possibility of consideration for promotion. These funds should be available to finance research, release time, and support related research activities for black scholars.

TABLE I

CUNY MANDATORY - Tenure for all colleges and ethnic groups compared with blacks at senior colleges and community colleges.

1979

	No. Eligible			No. Eligible Tenured			Percent Tenured		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
All Senior Colleges	76	49	125	56	38	94	73.7	77.6	75.6
Blacks at Senior Colleges	6	8	14	5	6	11	83.3	75.0	78.6
All Community Colleges	43	36	79	38	32	70	88.4	88.9	88.6
Blacks at Community Colleges	6	13	19	5	12	17	83.3	92.3	89.5

1980

	No. Eligible			No. Eligible Tenured			Percent Tenured		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
All Senior Colleges	42	41	83	34	34	68	81.0	86.5	82.0
Blacks at Senior Colleges	4	3	7	2	2	4	50.0	67.0	57.1
All Community Colleges	20	18	38	19	16	35	95.0	88.9	92.1
Blacks at Community Colleges	1	7	8	1	5	6	100	71.4	75.0

1981

	No. Eligible			No. Eligible Tenured			Percent Tenured		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
All Senior Colleges	84	74	158	61	64	125	72.6	86.5	79.1
Blacks at Senior Colleges	7	5	12	6	3	9	85.7	60.0	75.0
All Community Colleges	32	27	59	27	23	50	84.4	85.2	84.8
Blacks at Community Colleges	5	9	14	3	8	11	60.0	88.9	78.6

CUNY Affirmative Action Office

TABLE II

Comparison of blacks, whites, and total CUNY percentages of persons awarded Certificates of Continuous Employment.

1976 - 1982

	Blacks		White		CUNY Total	
	Senior	Community	Senior	Community	Senior	Community
1976	51.0	16.2	8.3	7.2	17.2	9.8
1977	29.4	25.0	4.8	11.7	16.5	22.3
1978	48.5	16.0	2.6	6.8	11.4	9.8
1979	27.3	29.4	2.6	22.9	6.4	25.7
1980	50.0	0	1.8	8.0	5.9	11.4
1981	11.1	18.2	13.5	14.3	15.2	17.1

Profile of 1976-1981 Mandatory and Early Tenure Decisions

University Affirmative Action Office
CUNY, 1976-1981

TABLE III

CUNY TENURED FACULTY 1980-81

		Black	White	Male	Female	Total
Professor	Tenured	74	1516	1429	321	1750
	Total	80	1561	1471	335	1806
	Percent	92.5	97.1	97.1	95.8	96.9
Associate Professor	Tenured	118	1548	1345	493	1847
	Total	139	1747	1520	570	2090
	Percent	84.9	88.6	89.1	86.5	88.4
Assistant Professor	Tenured	148	837	665	463	1118
	Total	223	1477	1150	820	1970
	Percent	66.4	56.7	57.0	56.5	56.8
Total Professorial	Tenured	340	3901	3438	1277	4715
	Total	442	4785	4141	1725	5866
	Percent	76.9	81.5	83.0	74.0	80.4
Instructor	Tenured	4	30	20	17	37
	Total	89	303	217	258	475
	Percent	4.5	9.9	9.2	6.6	7.8
Lecturer With CCE	Tenured	188	402	364	338	702
	Total	221	470	418	406	1824
	Percent	85.1	85.5	87.1	83.3	85.2
Total Faculty	Tenured	532	4333	3822	1632	5454
	Total	752	5558	4776	2389	7165
	Percent	70.7	78.0	80.0	68.3	76.1

CUNY Affirmative Action Office

FOOTNOTES

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A MAP TO FACULTY PROMOTION AND TENURE

Wesley L. Harris

SUMMARY

Race and racial attitudes are measurable quantities in the evaluation of black faculty for promotion and tenure. Race is the dominant factor in the promotion of black faculty. The politics of race drives peer recognition in evaluating black faculty. A definition and an active mechanism for grievance proceedings are essential as a means of removing some of the arbitrariness which surrounds the evaluation of black faculty for promotion and tenure. The challenge for black faculty at predominantly white universities, as they develop professionally in quest of promotion and tenure, is to maximize race within specified constraints of research, teaching, service, and student advising.

A description of an optimal path or map to faculty promotion and tenure for blacks at predominantly white universities is presented. This presentation is not inclusive, but rather directs its comments to black faculty and black administrators at majority universities which place a premium on research.

INTRODUCTION

As the twenty-first century approaches, as blacks appreciate more their global dimensions in economics, politics, science, technology and religion, and as the relative status of nations continues to change, the necessity for tenured black faculty at historically black universities and at predominantly white universities is assumed. Many variables are active in earning a promotion and tenure by black faculty. The variables and their relative value depend on the particular university at which the faculty is being evaluated. Following a definition of the variables and their value in determining promotion and tenure, black faculty at predominantly white universities must develop a means to combat the "arbitrariness of race" as an additional variable in the process. This paper identifies race, research, teaching, service, and student advising as the variables which determine promotion and tenure of black faculty at predominantly white universities. The relative value, in descending order, of these variables are (1) race, (2) research, (3) teaching, (4) service, and (5) student advising. Given these variables and their relative value in the promotion and tenure process, the challenge confronting black faculty in their professional development to earn tenure is to maximize the value of race within specified constraints of research, teaching, service, and student advising.

The variables of research, teaching, service, and student advising are assigned values by the senior peers of black faculty. Without exception, at predominantly white universities which place a premium on research, the senior peers of black faculty are white. Because we are addressing a dynamic situation involving humans and are located in the Western world, the "art" of assigning values to the set of variables (including race) or the process of peer recognition is driven by the politics of race. The arbitrariness of race in the promotion and tenure process as related to black faculty constitutes the salient feature of peer recognition. This arbitrariness of the race factor means that peer recognition of black faculty is always soft and, at the same time, hard. Hence, peer recognition, from the perspective of black faculty, cannot be quantified in the sense of developing the optimal path to promotion and tenure. This paper outlines an optimal path to promotion and tenure for black faculty at research-oriented and predominantly white universities.

The arbitrariness of race playing an essential role in peer recognition speaks to the need for an active grievance proceedings mechanism for black faculty who are being considered for promotion and tenure at predominantly white universities. As junior black faculty develop tactics and strategies for promotion and tenure, their optimal path must include possible recourse to a grievance proceedings.

Before proceeding, a few definitions are given. We shall use the term tenure to mean the following: an arrangement under which faculty appointments in an institution of higher education are continued until retirement for age or physical disability, subject to dismissal for adequate cause or unavoidable termination on account of financial exigency of change of institutional program.

We shall use the term grievance proceedings to mean the following: a process by which an academic employee seeks correction of alleged error or injustice in a personnel action. The process may be defined by institutional regulation or by collective bargaining and may either be wholly internal or permit ultimate resort to arbitrators from outside the institution.

We wish to note the recent national studies on faculty tenure. These studies include: Faculty Tenure: A Report and Recommendations by the Commission on Academic Tenure in Higher Education by the American Association of University Professors (A.A.U.P.)[1] and The Tenure Debate by Bardwell L. Smith and Associates.[2] These studies provide a source of data and arguments on the general issues related to faculty tenure. As such these studies are useful as a means of placing the specific issues related to black faculty promotion and tenure in a broader context. The publication, Promotion and Tenure: A Practical Guide for Administrators and Faculty Members to Improve Evaluation Decisions, by Peter Seldin[3] is also noted for alternative tenure path considerations.

The remainder of this presentation consists of a walk-through of a tenure procedure at a predominantly white university which places a high value on research. The procedure which is outlined relates to the experiences of black faculty. An optimal path to promotion and tenure for black faculty is obtained from these experiences by delineating the essential sequence of developments from the initial preparation stage to final promotion to full professor. The stages of black faculty promotion and tenure on which we shall concentrate are

(1) preparation
(2) selection procedure
(3) appointments
    a. assistant professor (without tenure)
    b. associate professor (without tenure)
    c. associate professor (with tenure)
    d. professor

STAGES OF PROMOTION AND TENURE

Preparation: Critical decisions in preparing oneself for a career in academia must be made while one is a graduate student. For black graduate students, the most important of these critical decisions consists of selection of faculty thesis chairman and selection of research topic. Since it is the faculty thesis chairman/advisor who will play the major role in providing letters of recommendation and placement in the targeted university, the critical nature of selecting this person is a given. This particular faculty thesis chairman/advisor must be an effective teacher, an established, known, and respected researcher, and must be a builder of research teams. Being a builder of research teams and being able to communicate this quality to the black graduate provide a unique and essential advantage to the black graduate student as he/she begins to structure plans for a career in the targeted university.

The nature of the thesis research topic is critical in the preparation because it can give the black graduate student an opportunity to initiate research in a new and important area. With such a thesis research topic, the black graduate student has more than ethnic attributes to offer the targeted university.

The university at which the black graduate student is preparing him/herself for a professional career in academia is important but secondary when compared to the choice of a faculty thesis chairman/advisor and the selection of a thesis research topic.

Selection Procedure: The process of identifying the particular academic institution at which a black faculty member desires to begin his practice is an extension of the relationship established with his/her faculty thesis advisor. The faculty thesis advisor and the black potential faculty member decide which of the targeted universities has the appropriate opening. The appropriate opening at the targeted universities is determined by an assessment of intellectual climate, internal funding opportunities for research initiation, tenure record, distribution of age for departmental faculty of interest, quality of student body, social climate, salary and location. Of greatest importance in the selection procedure is the identification of a mentor for the new black faculty member. Experience suggests that the mentee is selected by the mentor, with the faculty thesis advisor playing an essential role. The mentor expects the mentee to have had the "preparation" as discussed above. Another factor which the black potential faculty member and his faculty thesis advisor must assess is the existence and character of the university's and the department's grievance proceedings.

Pre-conditioning in the selection procedure must include consultation with black administrators and black faculty at the targeted university. It may be useful, in addition, to have a dialogue with black students at the targeted university before final selection.

Appointments - Assistant professor: A solid foundation must be developed. Mentorship, research initiation funding, starting salary and teaching responsibilities must be resolved to the advantage of the black potential faculty member. A research team must be developed or enjoined. Bright graduate students, especially bright black graduate students, must be wooed. Appointments to national technical advisory committees and panels are to be obtained at this appointment level. Performance on such committees and panels is to be superior. Ten to twelve refereed technical publications (or equivalent) must be produced at this appointment level. At least two research grants/contracts must be won.

Appointments - Associate professor (without tenure): Completion of the above list of 'must do's' coupled with positive peer review should satisfy both the written and unwritten rules for promotion to the associate professor (without tenure) level. At this level, the black faculty member must continue to solidify his accomplishments of the previous level.

Establishment of an international reputation and critical peer review constitute the objectives of the black faculty member. Peers must be convinced that your technical worth exceeds your potentially negative racial attributes. Producing outstanding black graduates is the optimal way to show this required technical worth. There is the added bonus in going this route: the level of technical awareness within the black community is enhanced.

Twelve to fifteen refereed technical publications, in addition to those obtained at the assistant professor level, are required.

Quality teaching and subject matter development are to be demonstrated at this level.

Appointments - Associate professor (with tenure): With the establishment of an international reputation and with several outstanding black and white graduates in the field now having normalized the peer review process for racism, promotion to this level should have a very high probability. Guidance by the mentor and assessment of the university's views provided by black administrators and black tenured faculty are required. Service and leadership on major university committees and panels must be demonstrated at this level. Dominance in one technical area, chairmanship of one national technical committee or advisory panel and invited lectures and papers are expected at this level of appointment. Publications may consist of textbooks, review papers, technical papers, and non-technical publications.

Should tenure be denied, the black faculty member being denied must have recourse to an active mechanism for grievance proceedings.

Appointments - Professor: High probability of continued research support, along with the achievements at the previous appointment levels, will guarantee promotion to professor. At this level you are expected to become the mentor and true guardian of the profession and of the targeted university.

New research frontiers, research laboratory development and new subject matter (for teaching) development may characterize this stage of professional advancement. Also, continued effectiveness and high visibility on the national and international professional scene are expected at this level of appointment. Publications may consist of textbooks, review papers, technical papers, and non-technical publications.

CONCLUSIONS

For black potential faculty members at predominantly white universities which have a strong research focus, an optimal path to promotion and tenure is characterized by the quality of the following:

(1) selection of faculty research/advisor
(2) thesis research topic
(3) appropriate opening at the targeted university
(4) advantages contained in the first-level appointment
(5) research team development.

Chart 1 summarizes those desirable qualities of a black faculty member at the various stages of his development.

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CHART 1

DESIRABLE QUALITIES AT THE VARIOUS STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT

QUALITY/STAGE	PREPARATION	SELECTION PROCEDURE	ASSISTANT PROFESSOR W.O.T.	ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR W.O.T.	ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR W.T.	PROFESSOR W.T.
THESIS	✓	✓	✓			
MENTOR	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
MENTEE						✓
GRANTS			✓	✓	✓	✓
PUBLICATIONS	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
RESEARCH TEAMS	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
TEACHING			✓	✓	✓	✓
ADVISORY PANELS			✓	✓	✓	✓
TEXTBOOKS					✓	✓
PEER REVIEW		✓	✓	✓	✓	

A COMPETITIVE STRATEGY FOR BLACK FACULTY SEEKING TENURE AND PROMOTION AT PREDOMINANTLY WHITE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Reuben R. McDaniel, Jr.

Black faculty at predominantly white colleges and universities are in a highly competitive environment in terms of achieving tenure and promotion. When a market is tight and demand for a product is shrinking, smart business people develop a competitive strategy. This strategy is the result of careful and extensive analysis and is designed to increase the probabilities of reaching goals. In a process sense, successful firms engage in strategic management - that is, a process of identifying, developing and taking advantage of those opportunities in which a tangible and preservable business advantage can be achieved. (South, 1981)

Black faculty need to be about the business of developing a strategy which will lead to a competitive advantage under the emerging conditions within the academic arena. It is the purpose of this paper to describe the situation, to suggest the particular and peculiar position of black faculty, to define the strategic combination of factors which can lead to promotion and tenure, to indicate the need for self-assessment and to recommend a way of thinking about the faculty role which is most likely to lead to a competitive advantage. It is not the purpose of this paper to deal with the institutional problems of black faculty; rather, it is the purpose to discuss individual strategies for coping with the academic organizational world as it exists.

The Situation

No one is finding it easy to achieve tenure and promotion in higher education. In fact, it is increasingly difficult just to get a job on a university faculty, much less advance in the academic arena. In the decade 1979-88, it is predicted that 400,000 new doctoral degrees will be granted. During the same period, there will be about 80,000 new doctoral hires in academia. The pool of 18-21 year olds will decrease some 30 to 40% between now and 1995. (Moore, 1980) The competitive picture for the first job was accurately painted by Linnell. "The real problems are that the number of faculty positions is now expanding only slowly and will soon decline and we have an increasingly highly tenured faculty of varying competency in generally rather rigid disciplinary slots." (1979, p. 9)

Getting a job will be difficult enough, but that does not ensure getting tenure. As shown in Table 1 (adopted from Change, 1981), approval rates for tenure vary greatly by type of institution and by field.

Table 1
Percentage of Faculty Approved for Tenure by Field
and Type of Institution 1978-1979

Field	Public Univ.	Private Univ.	Public 4-year colleges	Private 4-year colleges	All Institutions
Physical science	74	96	71	46	66
Engineering	66	76	71	n/a	70
Mathematical sciences	66	73	69	54	64
Life sciences	59	62	61	50	57
Social sciences	56	76	55	43	53
Humanities	52	68	63	52	56
Education	61	78	72	47	61
All fields	--	--	--	--	58

These data suggest that the private four-year college is a tougher place to get tenure in every field. Note, however, that with the single exception of physical sciences at private universities, no field had over a 78 percent approval rate at any type of school. In 18 out of 27 possible cases, the tenure approval rate was less than 70 percent. For all fields in all institutions the tenure approval rate was 58 percent.

These approval rates mask the "counseling out" phenomenon. Many academic departments have very high approval rates because those who won't make it are "counseled out" of the institution. This is particularly true of many of the prestigious private and public universities which often find it easy to "down place" their faculty to less prestigious institutions. Add to this the fact that some colleges and universities are, as a matter of institutional policy, keeping budgets down by replacing assistant professors in their sixth year with brand new assistant professors at lower salaries and a very bleak picture emerges.

The Black Situation

The first step in acquiring a competitive edge in any market is to understand one's own situation. "Important considerations in strategic evaluation are organizational compatibility and environmental compatibility. The more compatible a strategy is with the organization's strengths and weaknesses, including financial and human resources, distinctive competence, and values, the more likely it can be implemented effectively." (Diffenbach, 1981, p.48)

The experiences of being a black faculty member in higher education will be modulated by the experiences of being black. All of the economic, sociological and psychological factors which shape the development of blacks in America will come into play. There are three factors which seem to particularly impinge on the black academic. For lack of better labels, I call these the Ebony effect, the guilt of success, and model starvation.

The Ebony effect refers to those shared cultural experiences which affect most black professionals. Most black professionals read Ebony magazine. Despite whatever shortcoming it may have, this publication represents possibly the strongest, most consistent source of information about the phenomenon of blackness in America. It is read by blacks of all educational levels, religious persuasions and political parties. It defines the 100 most influential blacks, the ten most eligible bachelors, the prettiest black college homecoming queens, and the richest black businesses.

The *Ebony* effect extends beyond the magazine. Most black professionals are familiar with one or more of the historically black colleges. Many attended one of them or have a relative or close friend who did. The rich heritage of the historically black college is a part of the glue that holds the black community together and is part of the *Ebony* effect.

The black church is another part of the *Ebony* effect. Products of the most segregated hour each week and enriched by African cultures which were in full flower before the birth of Christ, these churches provide a unifying spiritual experience for black professionals. The black professional has vivid recollections of the hymns and sermons which have brought comfort and courage to the black community, and these recollections form a significant part of the *Ebony* effect. One can go on and on to identify those cultural phenomena which comprise the *Ebony* effect. The critical issue is that the *Ebony* effect tends to create a shared perception of reality among black faculty. Black faculty, therefore, look at their *individual* academic world through similar perceptual lenses. This may lead to varying degrees of misperceptions of those individual situations. These misperceptions, reinforced by shared experiences, become very difficult to correct. One has a tendency to stereotype predominantly white colleges and universities and thereby fail to see critical institutional differences that may be essential in developing a competitive strategy.

As an individual black becomes more and more successful, there are likely to be some feelings of guilt associated with this success. The stark reality of the many blacks who are unemployed, ill-housed, and victims of a racist society press on the consciousness of most, if not all, black faculty. Black faculty are often ambivalent about the degree to which they should attempt to assimilate themselves into white society. There are conflicting pressures from black colleagues, white colleagues, white students and black students. This situation leads to a characteristic I have labeled "guilt of success."

Guilt of success is a phenomenon which may block a person's ability to develop a truly competitive strategy for achieving tenure and promotion. Feelings of pressure from the larger black community to spend one's time in certain ways may cause the black faculty member to divert efforts from those activities which are required for success in the university community. When this happens the goals of tenure and promotion are likely to be unachieved.

Black students sometimes place unreasonable demands on a black faculty member's time. They may feel that the black faculty member should always be available to help with any kind of problem or concern. Many black faculty, perhaps remembering their own sense of frustration when they were undergraduates, attempt to respond to these demands.

White students often see in the black faculty member a chance to satisfy their curiosity about blacks and the black condition. They ask the most personal questions, expect the most revealing answers, and then debate the subject. Some black faculty feel a sense of obligation to respond to these demands. They know that in some very real sense they represent the black community and they see their interaction with white students as an opportunity to counter many prevailing racist attitudes. While such feelings may be laudable they may also take so much energy that critical academic work is left undone.

White colleagues exert some of the same pressures as white students. The black faculty member is asked to serve on numerous committees, appear on panels to discuss social issues, react to campus and national news from a "black" perspective and, in general, be available whenever the institution "needs" a black. These pressures are then ignored when evaluations are made for tenure and promotion.

Black colleagues often contribute, albeit unintentionally, to this guilt of success. They sometimes expect praise for scholarly work that isn't very rigorous because they "know" that the black colleagues will understand that research done by blacks is "different." Unreasonable assumptions are sometimes made about institutional loyalties. Confidences are shared because of the common racial identity. These burdens can be heavy ones for the black faculty member and they can drain energies needed for other tasks.

Guilt of success is not experienced by all black faculty, of course. Many have worked out healthy responses to unreasonable demands. Many others, however, have not. Debilitating responses to success are a human, not a black, phenomenon. After a graduate student completes a dissertation there is usually a long period of depression and avoidance of intellectual activity. Success often leads to avoidance behavior. One can avoid doing the things necessary for achieving tenure and promotion by saying that one has to meet one's obligations, as a black, to respond to the special pressures from other members of the academic community. This will almost certainly lead to not having a competitive advantage in the struggle for success in the academic world.

The third of the major phenomena which affect the black faculty member's chances of developing a competitive strategy for achieving tenure and promotion is "model starvation." The role models that are available for black faculty are often inadequate to provide the guidance needed to develop a truly competitive strategy. I am not talking here about a lack of *black* role models but a lack of *good* role models. Black faculty are shortchanged when it is assumed that they need *black* role models. They need *good* role models and if some of these are black then that is a plus, but the intellectual capacity of the black faculty is such that he or she can benefit from all kinds of good models. The importance of models for faculty cannot be overestimated. "One of the most pervasive ways a group can be helpful to individual members in role and skill learning is through the provision of models. The need for models is often very great-- especially for complex tasks and roles, some of which may be impossible to learn adequately in the absence of a concrete model." (Porter, Lawler and Hackman, 1975, p. 390) Model starvation does not occur because there are not *enough* senior faculty to emulate, but because they often present an *inadequate* model. The senior faculty, because of its own racist tendencies, sometimes sets lower levels of expectation for black faculty.

This pattern often starts in graduate school, where some white faculty fail to expose the black graduate student to the same rigors of criticism that are given to white students. A black graduate student may be encouraged to pursue less rigorous research than his or her white counterpart. It is expected that the black graduate student is interested in black issues rather than disciplinary issues. All of these things contribute to model starvation.

When the black faculty member arrives on campus, he or she is often welcomed with open arms and, at the same time, suspicion that a qualified white was denied the job. The same faculty who starve black graduate students because they believe them to be less capable now become the peers who will sit in judgement on tenure and promotion day.

Senior faculty are, sometimes, less willing to review the working papers of black junior faculty. Some of them, in an honest effort to avoid being racist, encourage scholarship that is not of the highest quality. They let irrational lines of argument, such as "you don't understand blacks" to deflect a scathing, but helpful, attack on a research design or statistical methodology. Senior faculty may be reluctant to offer a co-authorship for fear of seeming "patronizing." In these and other ways, senior faculty may starve black faculty of the models the black faculty member needs for full development and maturity as a scholar.

There are, of course, many factors that are characteristic of the black faculty situation in higher education. The *Ebony* effect, guilt of success and model starvation are three critical ones which affect the faculty member's ability to develop a competitive strategy. The relative intensity of each of these characteristics varies from situation to situation. Some blacks have developed effective guards against misperceptions caused by the *Ebony* effect; others have not. Some have learned to cope with feelings of guilt imposed by themselves or by others; some have not. Some black faculty have found effective scholarly role models; some have not. Each person must analyze his or her own particular situation but one must not ignore the way in which the experiences of being black will affect the development of a truly competitive strategy for achieving tenure and promotion.

The Strategic Situation

The faculty member has three responsibilities in any faculty position in higher education. These are teaching, research, and service. These three responsibilities are not the same in all kinds of institutions and the achievement of strategic fit involves determining how they are to be executed in a particular kind of institution.

Patterson and Schuttenberg describe the differences as follows. "While formal mission statements usually include references to teaching, research and service, Centra [J.A. Centra, "Universities Report Their Faculty Evaluation Practices," *Findings*, Vol. IV, No.2, 1978, pp. 1-4.] reports that service is not a full partner with research and teaching and that the emphasis among the triumvirate differs according to type of institution. In a recent study, quality of publications was reported to be a more important criterion for career advancement than teaching at research universities, but teaching was found still to be the major priority at the institutions which granted fewer doctorates and attracted less research funding. While service activities were valued more strongly at the nondoctoral academic institutions than either of the other categories, service still ranked a distant third to the categories of teaching and research." (1979, p.15)

The secret of strategic fit, therefore, is to understand the match between teaching, research, and service and the type of institution. It would be useful to clearly identify differences in the activities and the institutions and to see how they relate to each other.

The teaching responsibility in higher education can be divided into three basic types: 1) undergraduate, 2) graduate classroom, and 3) graduate nonclassroom. These are significantly different from each other and it is unlikely that a faculty member will enjoy or be good at all of them. A research seminar is neither harder nor easier than an introductory survey course but it is different. Struggling with a Ph.D. candidate to resolve a research design issue is different from classroom teaching.

Research responsibility can be divided in four relatively distinct ways. *Descriptive research* attempts to collect data to describe a reality, perhaps for the purpose of hypothesis generation or organizing ideas. *Applied research* attempts to take the results of knowledge generation and apply them to improve the ability of people and/or organizations to function. *Experimental research* attempts to evaluate hypotheses by statistical inference, theoretical analysis, or reasoned argument from data. *Theoretical research* attempts to establish a reasonably credible theory, elucidating some aspect of reality. These each contribute to the fund of human knowledge but each requires a different kind of intellectual activity and each requires a different level of resource support.

The service responsibility in higher education lends itself to classification into four levels; first, *local service*, including direct service on campus; second, *regional service*, including service to regional industry; third, *national service*; and fourth, *international service*. Each is important but some are more relevant for some institutions than for others.

The Carnegie Commission has classified institutions of higher education as follows (Carnegie, 1973):

Type I - Doctorate Granting Institutions
Type II - Comprehensive Universities and Colleges
Type III - Liberal Arts Colleges
Type IV - Two Year Colleges and Institutions.

Each type represents a distinctive kind of institution with a distinctive role in the system of higher education.

Table 2 identifies the kind of teaching, research, and service activity that is most likely to be expected at each type of institution. All institutions do not require the same emphasis among teaching, research and service nor do they expect the same activities in each area. The process of determining the strategic fit is a process of identifying what activities are required at which institution.

Table 2
Faculty Activity Required at Various Institution Types

Activity	Institution Types I	II	III	IV
Teaching				
Undergraduate		X	X	X
Graduate classroom	X	X		
Graduate nonclassroom	X			
Research				
Theoretical	X			
Experimental	X	X		
Descriptive		X	X	X
Applied			X	X
Service				
International	X			
National	X			
Regional		X		
Local			X	X

The Self Assessment

A critical step in the development of a competitive strategy is self-assessment. "From the strategic perspective there are two important elements of a business situation: competitive circumstances and the market environment.... Two questions need to be asked: 1) Relative to competitors, what are my strengths and weaknesses? 2) In the marketplace, what are the primary opportunities and threats? In thinking through a basic strategy for the business, however, it is useful to limit this evaluation to those key factors which make the difference between success and failure." (South, 1981, p.21)

For a faculty member this self-assessment is not a trivial task. The work of faculty is difficult to measure in an objective manner and faculty members find it as difficult to subjectively evaluate themselves as other people.

It is useful to start by looking at research production because that is where tangible results of one's efforts are most likely to exist. The faculty member should make an inventory of all published work with special emphasis on the quality of the journal or publisher. Referreed journal articles in the better academic journals represent the most valuable publications when seeking promotion and tenure. Other publications should be realistically evaluated. Research in progress should be clearly and carefully described. A research plan needs to be developed. A faculty member should be doing more than just "working on the problem." There must be evidence of serious effort and of potentially publishable results.

Teaching is very hard to evaluate but every effort must be made to collect data which reflects the teaching contribution of the faculty member. Despite their shortcomings, systematic student evaluations are very useful. Ask trusted colleagues to observe class performance and review the syllabus, text readings and bibliographical material. Compare examinations and student performance with those of others who teach the same or similar courses. Analyze any course materials developed for special contributions to teaching effectiveness and for their potential use by other faculty. Determine what kind of teaching - undergraduate, graduate classroom, or graduate nonclassroom is done the best and enjoyed the most.

Service activities will invariably be less important than teaching or research, but they are important and must be critically assessed. Speaking engagements and consultantships must be evaluated. Do these involve academic efforts or are they primarily sources of income? Service to professional organizations such as being a reviewer for a major journal are valued activities. On campus service often demonstrates the willingness of the faculty member to contribute to the health of the institution.

A careful self-assessment causes the faculty member to recognize his or her strengths and weaknesses relative to the opportunities that are available and relative to the performance of others. The result of this effort should be a carefully drawn inventory of the teaching, research, and service capabilities and contribution of the faculty member.

A Competitive Strategy

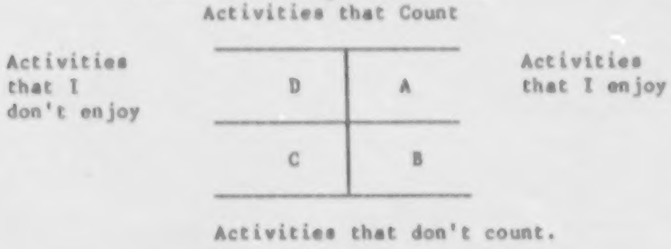
"Take charge of your career by making studied decisions about activities that are valued [by the institution] and enjoyable [to you] and by making informed decisions about how your time will be spent." (Patterson and Schuttenberg, 1979, p.15) This advice suggests the kind of thinking that normally is associated with business strategy. According to Carroll, "A strategy would be a statement of important actions to be taken to improve relative performance by allocating limited resources, which reflects on understanding of the principle economic forces affecting the business, of the external changes to the business requiring a response, and of the role to be played by competitors." (1981, p.3)

It is the thesis of this paper that a black faculty member striving to achieve tenure and promotion at a predominantly white university or college must develop a competitive strategy to have any real hope of success. Promotion and tenure will be hard to achieve in the foreseeable future. There will be differences in promotion and tenure opportunities between institutions and between disciplines.

Black faculty must be sensitive to those characteristics of black professionals which may contribute to or inhibit exploiting opportunities that exist. Various kinds of institutions require different mixes of teaching, research and service. Individual faculty have different things they do well and that they like to do.

A competitive strategy for tenure and promotion involves matching the activities that count with those you enjoy and do well. Figure 1, adopted from Patterson and Schuttenberg (1979), is helpful in understanding the situation.

Figure 1
Matrix of Strategic Activities



A faculty member who wants to teach undergraduate students should not seek appointments at a Type I institution. Even if one believes that these Doctorate Granting Institutions should be committed to undergraduate teaching, it must be recognized that the most highly regarded teaching at a Type I institution is graduate nonclassroom teaching, generally in the form of supervision of Ph.D. candidates. A few independent study students or some seminars at a Liberal Arts or Community College will not satisfy the teaching needs of a faculty member who excels in graduate classroom teaching.

If a faculty member does not wish to be involved in theoretical and experimental research he or she should avoid Doctorate Granting Institutions. Some Liberal Arts or Community Colleges expect no research at all but when they do, they expect applied or descriptive studies. In general teaching loads at these institutions are too heavy to leave the faculty member time for either experimental or theoretical research nor do they have access to graduate student assistance normally required for this kind of research. Comprehensive Universities and Colleges are the most flexible in their research expectations.

While service does not count as heavily as teaching or research, it does count if it's the right kind. Service on a campus admission committee will be highly valued at the Liberal Arts College, but perhaps not valued at all at a Doctorate Granting Institution. Faculty members who wish to become part of a local collegial group should avoid research focused institutions as these are more likely to require membership in national or even international groups of scholars.

The competitive advantage goes to that faculty member who invests a large majority of his or her energies in activities that fall in Cell A. Very little time should be spent in doing things in cells B and D. Activities in Cell C are avoided whenever possible. The black faculty member should determine which activities are in which cell through careful analysis of the total situation. Through such analysis, the black faculty member can achieve the basic aims of all strategic thinking: increasing the probability of achieving his or her goals in an efficient manner.

BLACK FACULTY AND THE ACADEMIC MELTING POT

Ronald L. Taylor

A recent study (Steinberg, 1974) based on data from a national survey of faculty members in institutions of higher learning concluded that a "melting pot" phenomenon is taking place among faculty on American college campuses. By its title, one might assume that the study included an extended treatment of the growing presence of minority scholars in predominantly white institutions of higher education. Instead, it presents an analysis of current trends in the representation of Protestants, Catholics and Jews in the academic professions. Thus, one learns that "as Catholics have improved their class positions, they have also begun to produce their numerical share of scholars and scientists" (1974, p. 115) and are "rapidly approaching the point of being represented among faculty in the same proportions as in the Nation as a whole" (1974, p. 105). Similarly, Jews, who tend to be overrepresented in institutions of higher education, continue to increase their number," but not as fast as the total population of faculty... the data suggest that Jewish representation among college faculty may be tapering off" (1974, p. 106). These trends in the ethnic and cultural makeup of faculty are inferred from comparisons of older cohorts of faculty with younger cohorts and with graduate students planning a career in college teaching.

In view of the mandate for unbiased hiring and promotion policies embodied in the principle of affirmative action and the substantial increase in the number of blacks and other minority students enrolled at all levels of higher education during the last decade, one might have anticipated trends in employment and representation of minority faculty in higher education similar to trends observed for Catholics, if not for Jews. Although such trends are evident among minority undergraduate and graduate students, and non-academic personnel, the so-called "melting pot" phenomenon is considerably less marked among minority faculty.

For the period 1972-73, the proportion of black faculty in institutions of higher education increased to 2.9 percent, from 2.2 percent in 1968-69 (Bayer, 1973), for a net gain of 0.7 percent. In 1975-76, the proportion of blacks increased by 1.5 percent to 4.5 percent of all faculty in higher education, a significant percentage gain for a three year period. The current total of full time faculty in higher education is roughly 460,000. Black faculty comprise about 4.5 percent of this number or approximately 20,000. Although precise data on the number of black faculty at predominantly white colleges and universities are not available, estimates range from 1.5 to 3.5 percent. Such estimates must be interpreted with caution, however, since faculty data are often flawed by imperfectly defined positions and variously drawn distinctions between full and part time positions.

On the basis of the best estimates available, and their proportion of the population in the country as a whole, it is clear that blacks are not currently represented on the faculties of institutions of higher education anywhere near their faculty potential. As one observer has recently noted, "if there has been a revolution in higher education insofar as blacks are concerned, it has simply been one of rising expectations" (Prestage, 1979), rather than substantial progress. A Carnegie Commission report (1973) concludes that blacks will not be adequately represented on university faculties until the year

2000, provided favorable trends continued, i.e., affirmative action enforcement efforts, increased demand for faculty, etc. However, a recent study by the American Council on Education (1982) concluded that employment opportunities for minority faculty and non-academic personnel have all but vanished in recent years. Among the reasons frequently offered by college officials to explain the slow rate of progress in hiring minority members for administrative and faculty posts are 1) financial exigency which inhibits greater progress toward affirmative action goals of equal employment; 2) stable or declining employment in higher education which precludes achieving affirmative action goals through employment growth; 3) and low turnover in a tight academic labor market providing few opportunities for hiring women and minorities. While such explanations can not be discounted, neither can the apparent retreat from affirmative action. In view of their relatively small share of faculty positions, the skewed distribution of their qualifications and their particular distribution among various classes of institutions, black faculty would appear to be especially vulnerable to the "new academic depression."

Much of the research and writing concerning the disparities between black and white faculty has centered on Ph.D. holders on the assumption that the doctorate is crucial for the academic career, at least at major research institutions (Sowell, 1975). Such an assumption is questionnable, however, since only a third of all faculty in institutions of higher education hold doctorates. Nonetheless, the discussion below focuses on black doctorates, since reliable comparisons are best made at this degree level. Black doctorates are primarily employed in high quality public colleges and universities, and the following observations pertain largely to public institutions of higher education. As important as the issue of current employment opportunities for minority faculty is the issue of career advancement or academic mobility. While the strategy of affirmative action has served as an opening wedge for the former, it cannot effectively ensure the achievement of the latter. A decision on tenure has greater ramifications for an individual and an institution than a decision on initial employment and involves longer-range commitments and approval by a series of gatekeepers. During this complex process, there are many opportunities for overt and institutional prejudices to have an effect. It has been noted (Lester, 1974), (Sowell, 1975) that certain job-related characteristics of black faculty tend to constrain their mobility chances in the academic marketplace. These job related characteristics must be considered prior to an examination of the issue of mobility.

Current Status of Black Faculty in the Academic Labor Market

In assessing the position of blacks in the academic labor market, some writers have called attention to several distinct disadvantages of black academicians. It has been observed that a smaller proportion of black than white faculty holds the doctoral degree; that the fields of specialization of black doctorates are biased toward lower paying fields such as education and the social sciences; that blacks take their doctorates at a later age than whites; and that academics who complete their Ph.D.'s at a later age tend to be less productive in research publications; that black academics tend to be less mobile than their white counterparts; and that black academics tend to concentrate in the lower paying region of the South (Sowell, 1975).

It is true that the current pool of black doctorates in the U.S. is relatively small. While no precise data are available, it is estimated that one percent of the doctorates awarded annually in the U.S. are received by blacks. According to a recent study by the National Science Foundation (1981), blacks comprised 1 percent of the Ph.D. scientists in 1980, a gain of 0.2 percent from 1975. The study does not include those with Ph.D.'s in the humanities, arts or education, where the proportion of black doctorates ranges from 2.0 in the humanities and arts, to 7 percent in the field of education. The study revealed significant variations by field of specialization among black scientists, with the lowest representation in the natural sciences (8 percent) and the highest in the social sciences (25 percent), particularly psychology and sociology (see Table 1).

Although it is generally recognized that limited employment opportunities and past practices of discrimination account in large measure for the uneven distribution of black Ph.D.s across fields, many regard their current concentration in certain fields as problematic, especially in view of a general decline in employment opportunities in these areas. Such concerns often ignore the fact that the need for highly trained black professionals is generated by institutions and agencies that serve the minority community

Table 1. Distribution of Ph.D.'s by Field of Study, Race and Ethnicity, Spring, 1980

	Racial / Ethnic Group (total)		Racial / Ethnic Group			
		Percent of all faculty	Black		All Other Minority Faculty	
	Number		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
All Fields	3012	8	426	14	2584	86
Engineering	815	11	41	5	774	95
Physical Science	563	7	51	9	512	91
Biological Sciences	530	6	74	14	456	86
Mathematics & Computer Sciences	458	9	52	11	406	89
Social Sciences	491	7	123	25	368	75
Psychology	153	5	85	56	68	44

Source: National Science Foundation, Young and Senior Science and Engineering Faculty, 1980, pp. 63-66.

and thus helps to explain the continuing concentration of blacks in some fields (National Board on Graduate Education, 1976). The concentration of black Ph.D.s in the field of education, for example, reflects in part, the greater need of black communities for qualified professionals to shape and administer the elementary, secondary and higher education of minority children and youth. Accordingly, the need is for more, not fewer blacks in this area. Similarly, the relatively large proportion of blacks in the social sciences and health related fields would also appear to derive, in part, from minority-related manpower needs in these areas.

Whether minority students ought to be encouraged to continue to pursue advanced study in those fields in which they are already substantially represented and where employment opportunities are diminishing are topics of continuing debate. However there are indications that the major field choices and occupational orientations of black students have begun to change and are beginning to parallel the occupational choices of their white counterparts (Braddock, 1982).

Because such a large proportion of black academics are engaged in college teaching, especially at predominantly black institutions, where stress is primarily on teaching, they tend to be less "productive," as measured by scholarly articles and books, than their white counterparts. Their low productivity has also been accounted for by the late completion of the Ph.D. (Lester, 1974). However, recent surveys reveal only slight differences in age or experience (as measured by years since the highest degree) between black and white academics (Freeman, 1977). The distribution of black and white doctorates among various fields of academic specialization also accounts for some of the difference in publication output. That is, white academics are more likely to be scientists employed by research oriented colleges and universities where publication output is critical to upward mobility and job security. Moreover, some studies have shown that when the effects of such confounding variables as quality of department of doctoral training, type of institution of employment, and field of study are controlled, the differences between black and white in productivity are substantially reduced, if not eliminated (Clemente, 1974; also Freeman, 1977).

There is little recent systematic data on the distribution of black academicians by rank or type of appointment, and previous surveys offer contradictory results. Freeman (1977) has recently reanalyzed survey data on the employment characteristics of black and white faculty collected by the American Council on Education in 1973, and found a moderate white advantage in academic rank. Sex, not race, accounted for the greatest differences in rank. More than half (55%) of white males and 46 percent of black males were in the two senior ranks, in contrast to one third of white females and one fifth of black females in these ranks. In 1973, females, both black and white, were twice as likely as males to be instructors or lecturers. Moore and Wagstaff (1974) reported similar findings in their study of black academics. They found that blacks were clustered at the lower academic ranks and disproportionately occupied the ranks of the nontenured, the part-timers and temporarily appointed, and those who had additional administrative responsibilities. A survey by the National Board on Graduate Education of member institutions in 1976 reported that between 20 and 50 percent of minority faculty employed by the institutions responding held instructor positions, despite the fact that only 9 percent of all faculty positions nationwide were at this level in 1976.

Given the dearth of current and reliable data on the distribution by rank of black academicians employed by various types of institutions of higher education, it is difficult to assess their current position in the academic labor market. However, the results of a survey published recently by Fleming, Gill and Swinton (1978) offer some clues as to the changing status of black relative to white faculty at four types of institutions, and present some projections on the demand for black faculty through the year 1990. The four types of institutions surveyed were a major state university, a major private university, a small liberal arts college, and a community college. Although these institutions were selected from various regions of the country, they are not necessarily representative of other institutions of similar type in these regions nor throughout the country. Accordingly, the results should be interpreted with caution.

Not surprisingly, the survey revealed considerable variation in the distribution and utilization of black faculty by rank and type of appointment within and between departments or divisions of the several institutions. Significant differences were found between the state university and the private research university in terms of the proportion of black faculty in the senior professorial ranks. Nearly two-thirds of black faculty at the private university held full-time senior appointments in contrast to less than a fifth at the State university. If these data are accurate, the proportion of senior black faculty at the private university slightly exceeds the national average for full-time senior faculty, while the proportion of senior black faculty employed by the state university is considerably below the average. The relative utilization of blacks also varied across faculties and departments within schools at the university level, with black faculty found in most of the schools and colleges of the private university, but concentrated largely in the college of liberal arts and sciences, school of social work and education at the state university.

No data are reported on the distribution of black faculty by rank for the private liberal arts college, but it may be inferred from other data presented that nearly one-half of black faculty held senior positions, although the absolute number at all levels was quite small. Roughly one-third of black faculty were found in the social sciences and education, with the remainder distributed between physical education and the black studies program. Compared to the other types of institutions surveyed, the community college employed the largest percentage of black faculty (15%) who, presumably, are better represented among the tenured faculty and higher salaried personnel.

Despite considerable progress in the employment and distribution of black faculty among all of the institutions surveyed, the study concludes that it will take several decades before "the black presence in academia approaches its faculty potential," if ever. This conclusion is based on current and projected conditions in the academic labor market. Projections of employment opportunities for blacks in higher education are made on the basis of a model of faculty demand derived from aggregate student enrollment rates, aggregate student enrollment rates, aggregate faculty exit rates, previous stock of faculty, and desired student-faculty ratios. Based on these data, Fleming, Gill and Swinton (1978) project a general decline in the demand for all Ph.D. and Master's level faculty during the five year period 1982-1986 and a moderate increase in demand from 1987-1989. For black faculty, they project a moderate decline in demand in both Ph.D. and non-Ph.D. hiring through 1982, zero demand from 1983-88, and a modest increase in demand beginning in 1989. Under the most favorable assumptions, the proportion of blacks on college faculties is expected to increase from the estimated 1974 level of 3.5 percent to 5.0 percent in 1990. At this rate, it is estimated that black faculty will not reach their labor force potential before the year 2025.

The projected decline in demand for black faculty, combined with the increase in supply is expected to produce a surplus of black academics in the years ahead. Indeed, it has been suggested that

> By 1985, in the best case, the probability of a new black Ph.D. finding employment in academic institutions [will] be only between six and seven chances out of a hundred. This is roughly down from the 60 to 70 percent chances of finding such employment during the early 1970s. The same phenomena are observed among the non-Ph.D. level graduates. (Fleming, Gill and Swinton 1978, p. 249)

As a result of the surplus in academic labor, institutions of higher education are likely to acquire considerable flexibility in the hiring and promotion of academic personnel, particularly minority faculty. This increased flexibility may inspire many institutions to "upgrade" their faculties through raising the qualifications required for faculty appointments and tenure. Under these conditions, the prospects for increased minority employment are likely to be diminished beyond the levels already projected. Indeed, there are already indications that more formalized policies and procedures are being instituted for evaluating the performance of academic personnel for tenure and promotion (Wilke, 1979). Since they have been more recently appointed to the faculties of predominantly white institutions of higher education, blacks and other minority faculty tend to be most affected by these changing policies and procedures, and find they do not know what the policies are, nor how to find out about them, or how they are changed or administered. Nor are minority faculty generally well informed regarding the relative weight to be given to various criteria for tenure and promotion. If they are to make a successful ascent, minority faculty must be able to distinguish between nominal and actual practices.

Career Mobility in Higher Education

The conventional rhetoric of academe conveys the impression that rather precise rules apply in the process of hiring, promotion and termination of faculty appointments. While no uniform procedures in these matters exist, various attempts have been made to develop general criteria in the hiring and promotion of faculty. In view of the mandate for unbiased hiring and promotion policies imposed by equal opportunity legislation, Richard Lester (1974) has suggested that the professional qualifications of applicants for both tenure and non-tenure track positions at major universities be the same, irrespective of sex, race or ethnic background. In his view, these qualifications should be

> 1) intellectual ability and scholarly promise, demonstrated as a graduate student, that would rate one in the top group of the new Ph.D.s in the discipline in the country;
>
> 2) special competence in the subfield or combination of subfields;
>
> 3) special abilities in teaching, research, and administrative matters that suit the institution's educational goals and student population and complement the teaching and research capabilities of the existing staff.
>
> For tenured faculty...the basis for judging qualifications is one's performance in teaching, scholarship, and colleagueship during the first five to seven years as an assistant professor. Generally speaking, a national or international reputation as an outstanding teacher-scholar is a necessary qualification. (Lester, 1974, p. 33-34)

Presumably, such high qualifications are not required of those considered for employment or promotion at less prestigious institutions, where one of several factors may determine who gets hired and promoted. Despite wide variation in emphasis given to various qualifications for employment and promotion, most institutions of higher education maintain at least a normative commitment to universalistic criteria in making these decisions, though such criteria are infrequently utilized in practice.

A number of studies have sought to identify the major correlates of academic recruitment and mobility (Sawyer, 1981; J. Scott Long,et. al., 1979; Hargens, 1969; Crane, 1970). One of the most persistent findings is that the prestige of a student's graduate department aids him or her in obtaining a prestigious academic appointment, independent of demonstrated ability. These findings contradict the image of the academic community as a system wherein "universalistic achievement norms" are realized, and call attention to ascriptive or particularistic practices in the allocation of jobs. In their investigation of the academic stratification system, Caplow and McGee (1961) use a "major-league, minor-league, bush-league" metaphor in describing the various institutions of higher education, and suggest that scholars are likely to spend their entire careers in the "league" in which they obtain their doctorates. Similar observations have been made by other investigators who, in examining the distribution of newly trained doctorates to positions in the academic community, conclude that the possession of a degree from a major university is almost a prerequisite for recruitment to a position at a major university, and that a scholar who obtains the Ph.D. from a minor university has a small chance of securing employment in a major university, regardless of his or her competence (Hargens, 1969). In sum, it appears that academic positions are not allocated exclusively. or even largely on the basis of professional qualifications, but are likely to involve ascriptive processes in the allocation of rewards.

Earlier and more recent studies of the academic origins of black doctorates and career patterns adduce similar evidence of a credentialing effect on employment opportunities. In his national survey of black doctorates, Rafky (1971) noted that the majority was employed by high quality, public colleges and universities; a similar survey by Mommsen (1974) revealed that most black doctorates were trained in a small number of highly rated predominantly white graduate departments outside the South. Within particular disciplines, the number of graduate departments from which black doctorates received their degrees may be even smaller. For instance, a survey of black sociologists by Conyers and Epps (1974) revealed that more than a third took their doctorates from just three graduate departments. They found that 70 percent of black sociologists were employed by predominantly white institutions, particularly universities, and that black sociologists were as likely as their white counterparts to be employed in prestigious colleges and universities. Moreover, they found no significant differences between black and white doctorates in salary or in the attainment of tenure.

While affirmative action legislation may have been successful in broadening recruitment opportunities for minority faculty, it has been less effective in reducing the many subjective considerations involved in the process of tenure and promotion. It has been observed that the criteria of evaluation for tenure and promotion are often vague, chaotic and inconsistent, and that in the final analysis such decisions are made in an intuitive manner (Katz, 1973). While faculty are generally aware that some combination of skills in research, teaching and public service is typically required of candidates for tenure and promotion, they may be less certain as to the relative weight given to each by tenure and promotion committees. One department may give extraordinary weight to experience, while another to the number of articles published or committee work. As a consequence of the vague and conflicting criteria by which performance may be evaluated, there is uncertainty in the allocation of energies (Widom & Burke, 1978; Wilson, 1975).

Only a few studies have sought to determine the relative weight given to various criteria in decisions on tenure and promotion. In their investigation of the issue, Tuckman and Associates (1977) used a market perspective, postulating that the rewards to faculty are determined to a large degree by market valuations of their skills in teaching, research, public service and administration. Accordingly, whom a department hires or rewards depends on the importance it gives to the "package" of skills the individual possesses. Although their focus is on financial returns to faculty for the possession of certain skills, their findings are relevant to the issues of tenure and promotion since the returns to these skills are also indicative of their overall importance in such decisions. Based on an analysis of data from over 300 institutions of higher education collected by the American Council on Education, they found that outstanding teaching yields a much lower return to faculty than other skills, followed by public service, research and administration. Indeed, in each of the five disciplines examined, they found that "the gain from current administration is three times that from teaching and public service combined." The return to administrative skill was matched only by extensive article publications. Interestingly, black faculty are shown to experience a slightly higher return for possession of each of these skills than white faculty.

Lionel Lewis (1975;1980) has presented one of the most penetrating and comprehensive analyses to date on performance criteria for tenure and promotion. He confirms what some critics have merely suspected, namely, that there are no hard and fast criteria; that "the entire process of evaluation and reward in academia is marked by 'floating standards.'" He arrives at this conclusion from an extensive examination of the personnel records of a sample of faculty reviewed for tenure appointments and promotion, and from what other researchers have learned about the judgmental processes affecting the professional activities of academics. With regards to teaching, Lewis finds that in the absence of a comprehensive theory of learning, departments do not effectively appraise the teaching output of their faculty. As evidence, he cites a survey of 1100 deans of colleges of arts and sciences conducted by the American Council on Education that sought to determine how their faculties'undergraduate teaching was evaluated. The survey revealed that

> In 70 percent of these colleges, scholarly research and publications were used to determine teaching skill in all or most departments. Presumably, the reasoning here is that if a man knows his field well enough to push beyond its frontiers and be creative, then he obviously knows enough to be a tolerably good teacher. Needless to say, it has never been empirically established that there is a positive relationship between ability to do research and teaching comnetence.(Lewis, 1975, pp. 22-23)

Although student opinions are also widely used as a means of evaluating teaching, much of what is known about a faculty member's classroom performance is fabricated from "rumor, gossip, or other random and unreliable means of intelligence."

Teaching effectiveness and community service are regarded by many departments as necessary but insufficient grounds for tenure. Rather, it is scholarly productivity, measured by published articles and books, which is assumed to be the major criterion for career advancement. Empirical evidence on the relationship between faculty productivity and academic mobility is mixed. While minimum publication standards have been shown to exist for tenure and promotion at many colleges and universities (Katz, 1973; Blackburn, et.al., 1978), a number of studies have found no significant relationship between rates of faculty mobility and performance in teaching or publishing (Hoyt, 1970; Katz, 1973). These findings have led some observers to conclude that "the much-discussed publish-or-perish dictum........ is in actuality more fiction than fact in the average institution" (Wilson, 1967). It seems that there are "a different set of ground rules for each decision regarding promotion, the granting of tenure or the acknowledgement of merit" (Lewis, 1975). What is clear is that factors other than the quality or quantity of publications affect tenure and promotion decisions. As Lewis points out, such factors are largely particularistic in nature:

> A young man in a department is judged as to how he fits into things. Does he adhere to the set of ideological biases which is in fashion in the department? Does he recognize as legitimate the existing distribution of authority within the department? If he seems to be malleable and gracious, he may be groomed for a position within the oligarchy. Otherwise, because he could well endanger the existing order, he is left to make his own career.(Lewis, 1975, p. 41)

It would be a serious error to conclude from the foregoing discussion that research and publications are largely irrelevant to the process wherein decisions on tenure and promotion are made. Rather, it should be understood that neither is sufficient to insure mobility in the academic market place since so many other considerations affect who colleges and universities reward. For some, the situation is as it should be, since it acknowledges that faculty members usually do not possess the various skills on which they are evaluated in equal measure. Consequently, the use of more flexible criteria can be applied in such a manner as to be consistent with the strengths of the individual under consideration. A more cynical view holds that such loosely established criteria function to maintain the status quo in departments and serve as mechanisms of institutional control. Moreover, such variable standards often conceal the reasons for denying faculty permanent appointments, merit raises or advancements in rank. Both views are equally tenable. Whether black academics at predominantly white institutions fare any better or worse than their white counterparts under such variable standards of evaluation for tenure and promotion is difficult to determine given the paucity of current data. It is likely that black academics experience variable outcom depending on their own resources and the type of institution with which they are affiliated. I can speak with confidence only with respect to the situation of black faculty at the state university system with which I am affiliated and do not claim that it is representative of this genre, though I suspect that its practices and policies regarding tenure and promotion are not much different from those in force at some other large state universities in the East.

At the University of Connecticut's main campus, there are currently 15 full-time black faculty members, which represents roughly 1.5 percent of total faculty on that campus. Excluding the Health Center, there are an additional 10 faculty members in the Schools of Law and Social Work. Of the 15 black faculty on the main campus, fourteen or 93 percent have been awarded tenure. For the University as a whole (excluding the Health Center) the percentage of tenured faculty at all ranks is 75 percent. At the highest professorial rank, the percentage of blacks is lower (20%) than the percentage of whites (42%). At the associate professor level, 73% of blacks in contrast to 31% of whites are found in this rank. Almost three times as many white faculty (20%) as black (7%) are assistant professors. Overall, black faculty are well represented among tenured faculty and at the senior professorial levels at the University of Connecticut.

These statistics convey an impressive picture, but may be misleading because they do not reveal the number of black faculty who were forced out or departed the university under fire prior to a tenure decision, nor the number who elected to leave for various other reasons. Nonetheless, even when such cases are accounted for an impressive picture remains and is perhaps more a tribute to the prodigious efforts of black academicians than the institution with which they are affiliated.

BREAKING THE STEREOTYPE FOR BLACK EDUCATIORS IN ADMINISTRATION

Charles V. Willie

The nation knows not much about black administrators in higher education, the range of their managerial styles, and how they have accomplished so much with so little. Few scholars have considered the life-stories of black college presidents worthy of biographical analysis. Few foundations are willing to sponsor such studies.

Black college presidents are the scapegoats in organizational behavior in contemporary American society. They are stereotyped as arbitrary, capricious, and self-determined authorities, with good salaries, good-looking wives, eager to gain more power and consolidate it through contacts with influential white leaders, and willing to do almost anything to hold on to their high position.

Vance Packard said that white executives like to think of themselves as tigers too; but this image, he said, is increasingly fanciful. He discovered that "the roles they play tend more and more to be passive. They are acted upon fully as much as they act. They move from job to job, and even from company to company, with less and less show of self-determination" (Packard, 1962:14). Thus we have the contradictions of white executives who are ambitious and who aspire to be autonomous and assertive but who also believe that they can be successful, maintain their authority, and gain more power by submissively modeling themselves in the image of the boss and by fully conforming to company expectations (Packard, 1962:113).

Clearly there is contradiction in the advocacy of freedom and self-determination and the submissive desire to imitate and conform to an image cultivated by others. This contradiction has resulted in a submissive-aggressive syndrome, a pathological adaptation in the social system, that corresponds to the manic-depressive pathology in the psychic system. Seeing oneself as a tiger but fearing the consequences of aggressive action to the point of voluntary submission gives rise to a distorted world view and sense of reality.

Unable to cope with the tension of contradiction, majority-group executives and administrators tend to deny its existence and make an adaptation by projecting upon minority-group leaders that which troubles the majority. Members of the majority-group may gain temporary solace from projecting that which they cannot handle themselves upon others. In this respect, black college presidents have served as the scapegoats for white executives. Parenthetically, this is precisely what Daniel Patrick Moynihan did in his report on The Negro Family (1966). Whites, unable to handle the rigid division of labor by sex category in their middle-class families and to acknowledge the matriarchal control of their households projected the issue upon blacks, despite the fact blacks families tend to be equalitarian.

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Thus white America was ready and willing to accept the word-portrait of the black college president by Ralph Ellison in his novel, *The Invisible Man* (1952). Nevermind that that portrait was fiction; some members of the majority-group were willing to accept it as fact (Jencks and Riesman, 1967). Thus, Ellison, for preparing this stereotype, has become one of the most celebrated black writers in America, despite the paucity of his literary output.

The first nine chapters of *The Invisible Man* have been accepted widely as an authentic and ideal-type description of the function of black college presidents. In this prize-winning book, the nation was offered a stereotype of black executives, courtesy of one of America's best black authors. Because a stereotype with such sponsorship is hard to break, it has become an impediment for analyzing and understanding the function of minority executives in higher education.

Ellison's book was published in 1942. This means that his stereotype has controlled our minds for more than a generation. It is important to examine Ellison's portrait of the black college presidency, to determine if it is falsifiable, and based on the analysis to confirm or cast doubt on whether the portrait should be generalized.

Ellison, of course, did not offer his novel as a generalized statement about the way of life of black educators. However, there is evidence he knew it could be so misused. In chapter 2 of his novel, Ellison has the college-student protagonist wonder why old Jim Trueblood, an Alabama backwoods type, would tell in explicit detail his shameful story of incest to a northern white benefactor of an imaginary school, similar to Tuskegee Institute. Again, through the mouth of the protagonist, Ellison conjectured that whites with this kind of information would immediately conclude that "all Negroes do such things" (Ellison, 1952:57).

Despite the understanding that the dialogue of Ellison's imaginary characters revealed him to have about the source of racial stereotypes, Ellison labored long and hard to write a novel, the first third of which stereotyped black educators and especially black college administrators. A reading of the 1967 *Harvard Educational Review* article on "The American Negro College" (Jencks and Riesman), and of Ann Jones' book entitled *Uncle Tom's Campus* (1973) illustrates the abusive way this stereotype has been used against blacks in American scholarship.

In summary, Ellison described the black college president of the 1930s this way: he is kind to students who are compliant (p. 92) but unrelenting in punishing those who cause him embarrassment in the presence of whites (pp. 92-95); he uses both admiration and fear to induce students to do what he wants them to do (p. 105); he impresses upon them that they would be nothing without his assistance (p. 128); and urges students to forget about pride and dignity, but to cultivate and make contacts with powerful and influential people and learn how to use them (p. 129).

In the presence of whites, Ellison described the black college president of the 1930s as wearing a bland mask, always smiling, and concealing emotions such as feelings of anger (p. 93); he meets and takes leave of white campus visitors with a humble bow (p. 96), and always presents a posture of humility and meekness (p. 105); he will say anything to please whites even if he has to lie (p. 124). In short, Ellison portrays the black college president as acting out "the role of the nigger" for whites, to get where he is (p. 127), and of being especially resentful of cocky black students, not contented with their place in society (p. 129), whose actions could jeopardize the president's acceptability as a protector of the interests of influential college benefactors (p. 127).

I do not claim that no black college president could be found in the 1920s or 1930s who acted the way Dr. Bledsoe acted in Ellison's novel. Richard Wright contends that the way of life of the minority is a mirror of the majority (Wright and Rosskam, 1941:146). Tobe Johnson subscribes to this assertion too and states that "most of the older black college presidents probably resembled the autocratic officials who presided at the prestigious white schools during the nineteenth century" (Johnson, 1971:800). As a refinement of the Wright and Johnson hypothesis, I contend that the minority is a dual reflection of the way of life of the majority -- both the best and the worst. If this contention is true, then Wright is correct in telling whites that they may understand themselves better by getting to know the minority (Wright and Rosskam, 1941:146). They may understand both the best and the worst in themselves.

While it may be true that some black colleges were operated as if they were the personal property of presidents such as the imaginary Dr. Bledsoe, others during this same period, from World War I to World War II, were led by presidents who honored and esteemed their students.

Howard Thurman, who became one of America's greatest preachers, enrolled in Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia in 1919. He described John Hope, the first black president of that school, as "genteel, scholarly, and decorous" (Thurman, 1979:36).

The goal of John Hope was to affirm the self-worth and build up the confidence of each student. This, he did in weekly lectures in chapel to the total student body and by permitting students to operate their own organizations on campus without interference from the administration. Thurman called the weekly lectures by the president "perhaps our greatest single course of instruction" (Thurman, 1979:34-36). He identified the college president as "the guiding mentor"who was assisted by a dean who helped students "define the meaning of the personal pilgrimage" on which they had embarked (Thurman, 1979:38). These black college administrators not only planted the seeds that resulted in a "dramatic sense of self" on the part of Morehouse students (Thurman, 1979:34), they kept before them a "sense of mission" -- their "responsibility to the many, many others who had not been fortunate enough to go to college" (Thurman, 1979:35). Thurman described the college president and the dean as providing "extraordinary leadership" during his student days in the 1920s.

John Hope had his race-related encounters with whites as did the imaginary Dr. Bledsoe. But President Hope never chastised or put down his students because of their impatience with the system of discrimination in which they lived. The Morehouse College president always addressed his students as "young gentlemen." Thurman said this salutation was a "term of respect" that boosted the "faltering egos" of black students who were surrounded by racial brutality in the South (Thurman, 1979:36).

When Thurman, a cocky student, walked out of an interracial meeting held at the Colored Branch of the Young Mens Christian Association because of the failure of the southern white liberals present to offer a plan for total integrated seating at a concert in the city auditorium by Roland Hayes, President Hope accepted the compromise plan but did not berate his student for rejecting "this bit of racial legerdemain" that would seat blacks on the main floor and in the balcony but segregated on different sides of the concert hall rather than, as previously, all whites on the main floor and all blacks in the balcony (Thurman, 1979:37). When he, a young disgusted black, left the meeting, Thurman said, "Dr. Hope followed me. He put his hands on my shoulders and said, 'Thurman, I know how you feel about what is going on in there, but you must remember that these are the best and most liberal men in the entire South. We must work with them. There _is_ no one else. Remember.'" Thurman said he did remember and Dr. Hope's advice helped him to grow in understanding (Thurman, 1979:37).

During the 1920s and the 1930s, one black college president rejected a cocky student and punished him because of the honest way that he had related to whites; another black college president accepted the cocky student and tried to help him understand the limitations of whites. Both college presidents during this era of racial brutality were open to compromise in race-related matters; but one compromised in a way that degraded the personality of black students, while the other explained the reality of circumstances in a way that enhanced their confidence, increased their courage, and contributed to their understanding. Which administrator was representative of other black executives of that period: one, the other, or both? In American scholarship on higher education the black administrator in education who is the tyrant and Uncle Tom is frequently mentioned as if an ideal type; the black administrator who counsels and consoles, who generates confidence and inspires courage among students committed to one's charge , is forgotten or ignored. One wonders why.

During this contemporary era of desegregation and integration in higher education, the presentation of partial information about the attitudes and actions of black administrators continues and perpetuates the stereotype that was popularized by Ralph Ellison. It is important to analyze the full range of adaptations by black students, faculty members, and administrators to contemporary circumstances as a way of getting to know the minority and better understanding the majority. Richard Wright describes the minority as a dark mirror looking back at the majority (Wright and Rosskam, 1941:146).

Benjamin Mays reminds us that "the social revolution that has swept America in recent years did not begin at Berkeley, the University of Chicago, Oberlin, or Harvard, but in Negro institutions (Wright, Mays, Gloster, Dent, 1967:457). And Samuel DuBois Cook contends that "it is hardly an accident that Martin Luther King, Jr. was an alumnus of Morehouse College rather than Harvard College and that an overwhelming majority of leaders of the civil rights movement -- nationally and locally -- are graduates of black colleges." Cook explained that "perhaps the black colleges provided a social creativity, [an] ethical ... motivation, a sense of outrage at ... oppression, a passion for social justice, ... a will to a better social order" (Cook, 1978:54). These could not be provided by schools administered by tyrants and Uncle Toms such as the imaginary Dr. Bledsoe. His style of administration could never be the ideal type exhibited by college presidents of color who developed such leaders as mentioned earlier.

Also not representative of all black educators in administration are the attitudes and actions of the five black chancellors of North Carolina's public black colleges and universities. They sided with white officials in charge of that state's higher education system in opposing the desegregation demands of the federal government in 1979. While this was the posture of chief black administrators in one southern state, the chief black administrator of Tennessee State University in Nashville was giving leadership to the planning phase under the supervision of the court for the merger of the University of Tennessee at Nashville (a predominantly white institution) with Tennessee State University (a predominantly black institution) that was recognized and mandated by court order as the surviving school of the merger. This state of affairs came to pass because of the 1968 class-action suit that was filed in the United States District Court by Rita Sanders (now Rita Geier) on behalf of all blacks living in that state as well as students and faculty of Tennessee State University. Named as defendants in the case were several units of state and federal governments, including the University of Tennessee Board of Trustees and the Tennessee Higher Education Commission, a coordinating agency. One outcome of the lawsuit was the court's mandate that defendants submit a plan for desegregation of higher education.

As president of Tennessee State University, the predominantly black institution, Dr. Frederick Humphries neither joined the black plaintiffs who pressed for integrated higher education in the State of Tennessee nor opposed the court-ordered desegregation demand. But his students and faculty were parties to the case. They were not humiliated by their president. Indeed, he supported their victory and participated in the planning for its implementation. It was his opinion and that of John Matlock that "the outcome of the TSU and UTN case might have been very different had the state been permitted to determine how it would eliminate its dual higher education" (Matlock and Humphries, 1981:174). Again, we see some blacks in higher education administration supporting the state and its modest plan for racial desegregation in North Carolina and others supporting the court and its radical plan for racial integration in Tennessee. It would be inappropriate to classify the attitudes and actions of one set of administrators as more representative of blacks than the attitudes and actions of the other set of administrators.

Benjamin Mays has provided a summary statement that should end for all-time the temptation to stereotype. He said that blacks do not have a distinct and unmixed culture (Wright, Mays, Gloster, Dent, 1967:457), and I would add, neither do whites. Thus, "it is strange," Mays said, "that no article has been written describing [feeble, unrated, white] colleges as areas of 'academic disaster'" (Wright, Mays, Gloster, Dent, 1967:456). And I would add, it is also strange that no article has been written extolling the administrative style of some black educators as a model for many, in view of the accomplishments of their schools.

UPWARD MOBILITY IN AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION AND BLACK AMERICAN EDUCATORS: TRENDS AND PROSPECTS

Elias Blake, Jr.

Let us begin with the premise that one of the things denied black Americans until very recently was any experience which gave them detailed insights into a range of high level executive behavior inside white organizations or institutions. Only recently are enough black Americans inside large white organizations. It is now important for them to be sensitive to and aware of what it takes to get ahead in an upwardly mobile, middle management, and executive sense. Earlier (15 to 20 years ago), they were not in the organizations; and if they were in the organizations, they were decidedly not on a track of upward mobility which would lead to middle or upper level management. It was either the mailroom or the custodial room; there were a very, very small number of people beyond that.

In predominantly white institutions of higher education, the analogy holds very firm because until about 15 years ago, one could not talk about upward mobility for blacks within a full range of institutions in American higher education. Less than 20 years ago, there were few blacks in American institutions of higher education outside the hundred or so historically black colleges in the southern and border states. A conference such as this in 1965 would have been impossible. In 1968, I believe it was, I went to a conference in Tarrytown, New York that was put on by the National Urban League. It was the first conference which focused on the problems of black administrators on white college campuses. On reflection, it remains one of the most interesting and provocative events in my professional career.

One of the things which happened in the dynamics of that conference was that the blacks brought so much anger, frustration and hostility into Tarrytown that it was difficult and impossible to focus in any useful or beneficial or analytical way on dealing with problems which brought them there full of anger, frustration and hostility. It was so bad that in one session two black educators, one of whom is at this conference today, asked a question from the back of the room that was perceived by the speaker, another black educator, as a kind of confrontational question. This was in the period in which the degree of blackness or devotion to the protest movement was a question of great moment. As the questions and answers went back and forth, both educators moved into the aisle and were moving towards each other. As they were talking, it was like a western shoot-out. The guy from the back would come closer and the guy from the front would come closer, and it was obvious that if these two guys met there might well have been a fist fight.

The feelings of frustration and anger were systemic to the conference. The sources of frustration and anger were in the conflicts between the institutions of higher education and black students, with the newly hired black administrators caught in-between. The educators were powerless to bring about the kind of changes they desired in both the students and the institutions. Among ourselves we abused each other with the feelings that we wanted to direct toward others whose power controlled us. What we have learned since then is a relationship of superior versus inferior power and authority. The same frustration and deflection of anger happens all along the line. This is an important insight in terms of the professional behavior of a manager. The feelings were intensified for the black educators because they were in deep conflict about whether they were helping or hurting black students by being in institutions, but being powerless to change them in fundamental ways.

Let me now go through a fairly cursory survey of upward mobility that may summarize what I perceive this conference to be dealing with in most of its sessions. How do we define success in our chosen professions and once we define it, how do we achieve it? A related question that normally is not covered, but will be included here is why be concerned with upward mobility or success for such a uniquely, influential group as black American educators in terms of impact on the nature of American society? It is a question not to be ignored lest we forget that black Americans have been, now are, and will in the future be seeking fundamental changes in the way the institutional life of the society functions. Higher education is a major cornerstone of American life out of which comes almost all its leadership in all aspects of the society. To wit, it would be interesting to see how the 25-year reunion classes of the three Ivy League schools that have been widely reported are positioned in American life. Where do they work, what do they hold sway over in terms of the political and economic life of this country? A fact that would undoubtedly be even more chilling is that large proportions of those 1957 graduates of Harvard, Yale, and Princeton believed that black Americans were intellectually inferior. In one instance, about 48% of the 1957 graduates of one school believed that blacks were intellectually inferior; in another school about 39% believed that blacks were inferior.

It is now still possible, however, that some black Americans coming out of the same schools - Yale, Harvard and Princeton - will see and do see other blacks as inferior. That is something to ponder; it is possible. American institutions, including higher education, are skillful at making one's origins seem inferior. These origins are to be rejected in large part to pursue the American dream. This has been done in all kinds of institutions including higher education to all kinds of people--Italians, Irish, Poles, and blacks and browns. You must be washed whiter than snow, whiter than snow. For whiteness is not a color, but a state of being, just as being a nigger or a wop or a kike or a Polock is not a color, but a state of being. It has to do with superior/inferior relationships. Blacks, hopefully, can mitigate and make more pluralistic the way in which all our socializing institutions work. Success would benefit all Americans.

Let me turn to my perspective on upward mobility. Some definitions are in order. First, we must define where the top is. There are two major areas of upward mobility in higher education--administrative and faculty upward mobility. On the administrative side, you have the chief executive officer of an institution or multi-campus system and the chief executive officer's cabinet. Usually there are five major top officers in American higher education--academic, fiscal, development, student personnel or student affairs, and management. The last one is a new one that is gaining increasing currency. It is someone who is the vice president of administration or who functions as a management efficiency expert to deal with the totality of the organizational structure of the institution. In simpler words, one is at the top if one is responsible for everybody and everything in one's area. It's as simple as that. If there is nobody else above you but the chief executive officer, then you are at the top. For example, an academic vice president in a large institution such as MIT may have the deans of all schools and colleges report to him or her as academic vice president. The deans represent another level of the heirarchy on the administrative side, and then you have department chairs and so on. All policy is formulated up through these top positions and all resources are known about and their allocations and realignment, if necessary, are done at the level of these cabinet officers.

On the faculty side there is upward mobility in terms of moving into a tenured position or in moving upward through whatever ranks exist to become a full professor. In both administrative and faculty mobility there is also inter-institutional mobility wherein different schools have varying levels of prestige or stature. One can advance even at the same faculty rank or administrative level as an academic vice president, president or full professor by moving to a more prestigious institution. The most selective liberal arts colleges and the top fifty research universities are generally recognized as the most coveted places in American higher education.

To turn back to blacks' prospects in negotiating upward in these systems, let me mention three periods.

Period 1 - 1850 to 1965. There was virtually no black participation in administrative and faculty mobility outside of the historically black colleges during this period. Most of the blacks in white colleges were superstars such as John Hope Franklin, first at Brooklyn College then at the University of Chicago, or Allison Davis, also at Chicago. Within the black colleges there was mobility from lesser known schools toward Fisk, Hampton, Tuskegee, the Atlanta colleges and Harvard University.

Period II - 1966 to 1973. This was the period of expansion in which a significant number of blacks went onto white campuses primarily as administrators to address the rapid increase in numbers of black students, or as faculty members to respond to student protests, especially about the omission of significant content about blacks in the social sciences and humanities. The rise of black studies brought new faculty and quasi-faculty positions. ("Quasi-faculty" means mixed teaching administrative responsibilities primarily related to black student needs.) Historically, black colleges were growing in size and also in their resource base in some public and private schools, creating some additional opportunities for black academics, and an increasingly attractive option for upwardly mobile black administrators serving in historically white colleges.

Period III - 1973 to 1982. In this period there was a loss of momentum on the issue of black students on white campuses. Higher education generally moved into a period of "steady state" where enrollments have been growing slowly, if at all. Money is not as available in the private or public sector due to weak economic currents. The rapid increases in black enrollment essentially stopped by 1977 or 1978 among undergraduates, graduates, and professionals. By 1980, the numbers of blacks in a significant number of graduate and professional schools had decreased. (See "A Losing Battle," published by The National Advisory Committee on Blacks in Higher Education: Department of Education.)

If the expansion of black faculty and staff were following the expansion of students, and the expansion of students stopped, it could very well mean that the expansion of professional mobility which flows behind that would also begin to plateau. Another example comes from two-year colleges which have experienced very rapid and dramatic increases in black enrollments. We have also seen the fairly rapid increase in the two-year sector of black chief executive officers. The largest increase of black chief executive officers in terms of new kinds of institutions outside the historically black colleges has occurred in two-year colleges, mainly, however, in two-year colleges where student populations mirror the image of the historically black colleges. In my analysis we are not witnessing an expansion of mobility; we are seeing another kind of change and growth similar to the historically black college system in the logic of mobility in American higher education.

Among faculty, there has been a leveling off and a potential erosion of opportunities for moving into tenure track positions and acquiring tenure. We hear talk about this and it is threatening. It is a very personal thing if you are in a school and your day for promotion is coming and fellow strugglers have already fallen by the wayside. With the restrictions of a steady state already in place, we look to the future and see new problems. There is tremendous competition for talented young blacks from fields such as engineering, business, law and medicine. In an already too small talent pool, we find too few of our more talented students pursuing the traditional Ph.D. We see this in the Atlanta University Center where we have a dual-degree engineering program with Georgia Tech. The program is pulling some who earlier would have been in medicine or would have taken science Ph.D.'s. They began to find out that by doing those tough five years in engineering, you can start in the middle and upper 20's and within five years you can earn a salary in the mid 30's, and be only 25 or 26 years old. Even though a doctor, if he puts in some time, can triple that $30,000, for a poor black kid who never has seen much money, it is very hard to say do five more years and become a physician. He knows that somebody that is two years ahead of him just got an offer from General Electric for $28,500 and after six months goes to $29,500 at age 22. The problem is not the choices, the problem is the small pool. Today there are more attractive choices for talented, bright black students. The Ph.D. yield that we might have gotten out of the expansions from 1968 to 1982 is not happening. For the future there will be fewer black academics in line for upward mobility in American higher education.

One other point that I would like to make about upward mobility is that there is a relationship between historically black colleges and historically white colleges that has now begun to surface in the last fifteen years. Many black academics in administrative positions are finding that if they want to go to the top, they have to leave the white system and go to the black system. There, they might have a possibility of becoming chief executive officers. They are finding also that even to become a top line executive officer which is what I call those five vice presidents, one might have to jump ship and go into the black college system. There they find the chance to work with the president and the committees of the boards of trustees in terms of the future of an institution rather than with an assistant or associate director underneath those top vice presidents. One might even be on the president's staff, but not in charge of a specific area. Many are only in charge of what the president designates. Your portfolio does not come with the job description and the structure of the institution. It has been interesting to watch as black college presidencies open. You have a very large number of candidates who are administrators in historically white colleges who are competing for these jobs; often they get them.

One of the reasons that they get them is that in many instances they come with credentials from the prestigious parts of the system. If you are a Harvard Ph.D., Yale Ph.D., or Cal-Berkeley Ph.D., you attract positive attention. I am not saying that I agree or I disagree with it; I am not describing it as a fact of life in the American academic world. That is something we still have to reckon with.

Now what does that mean? It means we need to plan for the future in terms of the historically white colleges. We must continue to emphasize the diversification of fields for undergraduates and also for students going to graduate schools. It must be in a "planful" pattern. We must also try, though it is difficult, to identify students of a scholarly, research, or reflective leaning. In the undergraduate schools we have to become more skillful at identifying,for example, a young person who loves the laboratory, and try to illustrate to him that unless he really gets into the research and development part of a major corporation, he will probably be very unhappy as an engineer. We might illustrate the relative freedom within the academic laboratory. There are people out there who are talented and able, but we are not, I think, among black educators in the historically white college system, planning toward the long-term future. Training for mobility rests, except for Howard and the Atlanta University Center, in the historically white system. There needs to be an awareness of and sensitivity to "planful projecting" toward the future in terms of mobility.

In the historically black colleges, our problem is to do intra-pool development from M.S.'s to A.B.D.'s to Ph.D. That's one of the things I've been doing since I've been at Clark. If students have everything done but their dissertations, I communicate to them that they have to finish their dissertations or they are just going to be in the dog house. If they get that close, we need them to have the credential inside our institutions and we need them because it does things for them. When they get it, in many instances, its almost like a metamorphosis, like the veil is lifted; one now can venture forth to do greater things.

Within the black college system, one of my dreams has always been that we would work out some kind of consortium relationship with Howard and Atlanta University so that we would have a system within a system which dealt with the manpower needs that we have. In many instances, in critical fields we could look to Howard and Atlanta University in a special way where we could get poeple in and get them back with their Ph.D.'s.

Why all of this? First there is a question of the credibility of our equality as a race. We, in a sense, are still saying we want to demonstrate that we can be in all places at all levels. We ask no quarter; we give no quarter. We must do whatever has to be done. In higher education you are dealing with the intellect; this is an extremely important sector of American life in which we must be successful, the place where the life of the mind reigns supreme. Therefore, we need some black Nobel laureates in academic disciplines in the 1980's. We have one in economics; none in the whole array of the sciences has been a black American. We need that and we need it badly. It speaks to us in terms of our own self-respect as a race and also in communicating that we are there because we are able and not because we are blacks.

The other issue is one which I call intellectual pluralism in American higher education. In the humanities, for example, people deal with the images of themselves and the images of a nation. There you talk about art and music and the literature, life and times of people. We still have a job to do. I was recently reviewing the various kinds of books that have come out in the last few months. They are all books I call "setting the record straight" like Leon Higginbotham's book, In the Matter of Color, which just came out in the last eighteen months. Vince Harding just published a book, There is a Tower, that's setting the record straight; Mary Berry and John Blassingame just came out with a book; and William Harris, who is going to my alma mater, Paine College, as President also just published a book. All these treat aspects of the history of blacks in America. We are still more prolific in the social sciences. In terms of the social sciences the organization of the economic, political and institutional life, how it works, how we analyze it, how we manipulate it for our advancement, is critical. We need more work done. One of the things we are doing at Clark is taking a policy center and redirecting it to focus on economic inequality. We intend to try to do some things which are as important in breaking down economic inequality as was earlier done in black law schools in breaking down inequality in legal rights.

Science is the major new frontier for black Americans. We must begin now as a comprehensive group of black professionals to figure out how, within this decade, we break open participation in the sciences. We just cannot continue to go the way that we are going. We have almost no participation in the hard sciences, engineering and so on. All the statistics that we look at indicate that there are very few in the pipeline in physics, in chemistry, bio-engineering, bio-chemistry, physical chemistry and solid-state physics. In man and his environment, the health and welfare of men, the protection of this planet, Earth, as a spaceship, blacks must participate. There is also technology in the service of commerce, computers, telecommunications and micro-electronics where we are not represented. There is technology in the service of war. I have some reservations about that, but my basic philosophy is wherever there is action, we must be because we live in America; we don't have anywhere else to go. Therefore, whenever things are moving, I think we must be there, even if we have philosophical reservations about being a part of the technology of war. There are also the professions - business, communications, education, law, and so on - to take into consideration.

We must recognize that this is what upward mobility is all about. The stakes are high. The 1982 freshmen were born in 1965. Black American youths born in 1965 are now beginning to move into American higher ecuation. In 1987, five years from now, that freshman class will have been born in 1970. When I say there may come to be generations of black Americans who in 25 years will answer questions about other black Americans in the same way the Yale, Harvard, Princeton classes of 1957 answered, I do not say that as an idle cocktail conversation gambit. I have been back on the campus full-time for five years after a ten year absence and one of the things that distrubed me most profoundly, until I looked at the ages of these students, was that they didn't know anything about black people in America. Ask them who was Martin Luther King. They say he was a civil rights leader. Ask them what kind of rights did he lead us for, where, when and how, and they can't tell you. You go through the last 20 years and run down all the names - Malcolm, Stokely, Medgar, Schwerner, Goodman, Chaney, Meredith, Hunter. Give them 25; they couldn't tell you about five.

But even more important, we had one teacher ask students to do their family histories. The students rebelled at the assignment because their families did not have any histories. They did not associate the discipline of history with their families until it was interpreted for them. They then went forth and found their families did have histories. We are finding that within the black family, the generational transmission of information is breaking down. This is a responsibility for our community. Jewish Americans don't leave it to the schools or church or anybody; they have organized it in a formal, ritualistic way, and they do it themselves. If you are Jewish, you cannot escape the history of your people. Our children do not know our history. We have not told them. If you have teenagers, have you told them? Have you told them about your father and mother? Have you told them about your grandparents, if you know about them? Some of us do not know. We didn't even ask and our origins are vague. If we transmit it, it is personal and not historical. This is what I've found at Clark that makes the difference. If you talk to your children about mommy or daddy or Uncle Joe or Uncle Bubber who were in Greene County, Alabama or Glen County, Gerogia and had to leave town by night, one stop ahead of the lynch mob, and that's how your family came to be living in Boston or New York, then that conveys what they are a part of and what their obligations are. They begin to understand America better and why they must not fail. In their histories they will find their roots of motivation. This is what I am after.

In my youth the signs of America's attitudes were clear and the special obligation to perform well was also clear. Now the signs are much more subtle and deceptive. Yet the statistics all along the line - in high school, undergraduate, graduate, and professional schools, in the professions - indicate a major struggle is still being waged to continue progress toward parity.

Upward mobility into faculties and administrative posts in all of American higher education has a purpose that is larger than the individual careers of black educators. Significant numbers of black educators must not only make higher education institutions more responsive to black students, but must make them more responsive to the need to contribute to a fairer and more just political, economic and social order in America. Black educators must have the hostile possibilities inherent in raising fundamental questions about the inadequate way in which major institutions contribute to the advancement of black Americans.

Success will be judged by both the individual advancements and the collective impact of those who advance in the life of the university. If American higher education absorbs large numbers of blacks in its faculties and administrations and they are not a force for fundamental change in such areas as curriculum, research, and more accurate transmission of our cultural heritage, then black America will have been failed by its brightest black minds. America, then, in a world of diversity facing the ascendancy of more and more non-western and non-white people, will become more and more vulnerable as a great world power.

It is in the mutual interest of black and white intellectuals to ensure the upward mobility of black Americans in American higher education in the broadest, most visionary terms. The future of our civilization may depend on the outcome of how these institutions educate our future black and white leaders, given the narowness of the current curriculum or the broadness of a future curriculum which will accurately portray our own nation's past and its changing position in a world of new economic, cultural, and political balances.

Leadership is higher education's most important contribution to America's future. Black educators must recognize their critical role in shaping the nature of that leadership.

STUDENT SERVICES AND THE BLACK DEAN FOR STUDENT AFFAIRS PHENOMENON: HOW TO MAKE IT TRANSFERABLE

Ellen S. Jackson

The need for black administrators and deans at predominantly white institutions grew primarily out of the turmoil of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960's where black students aggressively disrupted almost every major university and college campus throughout the United States. White institutions of higher learning in response to this situation aggressively recruited many black professionals whose chief roles were to divert the energies of black students from the problems of institutional racism to other less meaningful issues. Black administrators received the unflattering labels of "black flack catchers" and "gatekeepers" from colleagues and students during this period. These early problems based on the Machiavellian motivations of the university administration took its toll on the black experience in several ways. It created a "no win" situation for black administrators as they were viewed at best as some kind of double agents on the college campus, suspected by both black students and white administrators, always being marginally treated by both and never really appreciated for their trained professions. What do black administrators represent? Whom do they represent? And why? These questions tend to overshadow such issues as ones competence, skills, or professionalism. In order to satisfy these concerns, there has to be a tendency on the part of the black administrator to identify with the university/institutional prerequisites and priorities. On the other hand, whether based upon pressure that is self imposed and/or stimulated by black student activism, black administrators have been forced to satisfy the concerns of black people by creating parallel systems to subvert white institutional concerns.

Black administrators in their attempt to work out a more healthy relationship between the two concerns have tried to build bridges between the white and black world by conducting conferences or retreats. At best the results of these efforts have yielded short-term feelings of unity. But these were quickly dissolved as the demands of the two systems demonstrated that their basic missions were diametrically opposed. This schism forms the basis for the crisis facing black administrators on predominantly white campuses. Some difficult choices face black administrators in the 80's. Can two masters be served? If black administrators opt to serve the concerns of blacks on campus by playing aggressive advocacy roles, their chances to hasten resignation or termination will probably be increased. If on the other hand black administrators seek to adhere strictly to the concerns of the institution, their likelihood for self-guilt and poor relationships with black students will be greatly enhanced which in turn will create a credibility gap in the eyes of the institution concerning their ability to play the role as "flack catcher" and/or "gatekeeper." Ultimately this will hasten resignation and/or termination as well. Ironically both scenarios end in failure to serve the black student or the professional needs of black administrators. The questions, therefore, that must be addressed are as follows:

1) Can the attitudes, values, and/or behavior of blacks and whites become congruent at the predominantly white university?

2) Can black administrators and black students find ways to forge healthy and trusting relationships on predominantly white-run campuses?

3) Should black administrators and students accept the Machiavellian nature of predominantly white systems and maintain a laissez-faire relationship and not seek unity?

4) Should blacks make a conscious effort to return to all black institutions of higher learning?

Once these questions are answered, it is my belief that managerial and administrative issues required to perform student services activities will fall in place. Black administrators do not lack these skills. As a matter of fact, all indications are that they are superior to their white counterparts. The problem that must be resolved is how we relate to one another most effectively in an environment which has been and will continue to be hostile and indifferent to the needs and concerns of black people. The tasks are difficult but must be faced in order to be resolved.

Our problem is we have never resolved what we are and who we represent on these campuses.

THE ONCE AND FUTURE STATUS OF BLACK PROFESSIONALS IN STUDENT AFFAIRS

Clarence Shelley

During the past twenty years student affairs and student services as a profession has expanded greatly in terms of the kinds of services and programs available to students; in terms of the range of resources available; and in terms of the academic and experiential profiles of the people entering and being promoted. Those changes have had an obvious impact on the skills, information and training required to be successful in the field. College students are also quite different from those a few student generations ago. Their attitudes, their academic preparation, their socioeconomic status, their career options have changed as have their expectations of the college experience.

With regard to what student affairs must do for them and with them we need consider only briefly the current and future status of such matters as the status of financial aid, housing and living patterns and life styles, career and professional placement opportunities, emotional stresses, intercollegiate athletics, health services and insurance plans - and the place of student affairs among institutional priorities in a period of rapidly diminishing resources. These topics clearly indicate the scope of theoretical and management skills needed to respond to todays college students organizationally and programmatically.

The addition of the racial dimension to the discussion elevates the concerns. Smith (1980) studied the perceptions of black students of life at a predominantly white university. He confirmed Nieves (1972) earlier findings that from the perspective of minority students - especially black students- a critical element in their feelings of security, adjustment and acceptance on a white campus regardless of its size is the presence of visible, available and responsive black administrators and staff.

Some interesting questions come from this discussion. Where are these minority staff and where have they been? Where will they come from and what skills will they need to perform their duties? Perhaps the overriding question is to what extent, if at all, should black administrators be selected, trained or assigned differently than their white colleagues? Moreover, should minority students have different expectations of them because of their race?

In 1972 the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators replicated a study completed two years earlier. The survey examined the hiring, placement and mobility patterns of minorities at various levels of student affairs administration (Myers and Sandeen, 1973). The survey indicated that only 9.3% of the total staff was black at the 914 institutions surveyed. An earlier survey which included a relatively small sample of 75 institutions (Charles, 1967) reflected an even smaller percentage of black staff in student affairs - fewer than five percent. The later study did not indicate the level of responsibility, the area of assignment or the staff roles of the black staff members. In the Charles' research over half (62%) of the black staff worked in various capacities, student housing and student activities. In neither study was there any senior minority administrators.

ing realization because through it they were defined outside of the academy. They were reminded of the tenuous relationship they had with the host institutions.

Often during the early days of the expansion of these programs, the tension and animosity between black and non-black staff was so intense that communication was difficult. Black staff working in programs that were seen as marginal and temporary didn't always understand that their activities were conceived and funded as social action programs - and not necessarily as educational programs. Their origins were more political than academic. They did not, as a rule, grind through college panels for approvals or have their curricula, goals and staffing patterns reviewed by faculty groups concerned with assuring that their programs were academically credible and programmatically viable. When these perceptions of viability and credibility are examined, some interesting perceptions are revealed. Tradition in the academy presumes that professional credibility is enhanced as one's colleagues become convinced that one's research, teaching and contributions to the system contribute in some specific way to the institutions mission as articulated and agreed upon by the faculty and the governing body. Black administrators in student affairs, contrarily, had too often to perform effectively on several levels. Many institutional governing bodies felt that these programs and their staffs had been mandated (read, imposed on them) instead of evolving as most programs and administrative units evolve.

Scollay (1982) has examined the impact of federally funded programs on the administration of colleges and universities - particularly with regard to the participation of minorities and women. Her work is important because it confirms many of the assumptions implicit in increased federal funding, involvement with and monitoring of higher education. One of those assumptions was and remains that the larger numbers of black students in college would require an equivalent increase in the numbers of black administrators needed and hired to work with them. This arrangement would have at least three important outcomes.

1. It would improve the adjustment and retention of minority students by providing more role models and support staff more likely to be compatible with them in terms of socio-cultural orientation than present faculty or staff, black or white.

2. It would increase the number of minority staff on the campus particularly in the areas of student affairs.

3. It would have a significant impact on academic, organizational and governance policy by requiring an analysis and often a reordering of institutional missions and priorities viz-a-viz minority students, faculty and staff.

That impact would be based on several factors, including

1. the organizational assignment of the program ,

2. the unique credentials and qualifications of the staff,

3. the managerial style and experience of the director, and

4. the institution's perception of the program and its staff.

The federally funded and other academic support programs were unique in many ways. These units had an orientation that was completely service. These units had a broader and wider range of responsibility, exposure and access than others. Some programs were larger than many American colleges in terms of the numbers of students and the size of staffs and budgets. These were new institutional functions with no "tradition" to rely upon as is found in areas that are expanded or evolve from an existing unit. They were required to deal effectively with practically every academic, administrative and support unit on the campus - or wherever their students were likely to have to be. They had to learn more and learn it more quickly than their colleagues administering other academic and student affairs units. A critical skill was the ability to anticipate problems well in advance of their occurence. Because these activities were so public, political and comprehensive, their margin for error and mismanagement was small indeed. Skills develop in curious ways in such atmospheres. Much time was spent in resolving and managing

There remains a need for more research on the placement of minorities in student affairs. The results of earlier surveys suggest that most of the minority staff presently in student affairs will be found either in student housing or in some area of minority affairs, special services programs, or athletics. It is also assumed that the increase in black staff in housing departments as in other units is directly related to the increased number of black students enrolled at white institutions. Early on in the days of equal access and federal support for recruitment and financial aid, the numbers of black students enrolled in higher educational institutions increased dramatically. Many schools hurried to locate and hire black staff to work with these new students. During that early and unpredicted proliferation of educational opportunity programs, the staffing patterns placed black staff in the areas where there was expected to be or assumed to be the greatest potential for cultural clash, in the residence halls and recreational areas. Soon after came the search for persons to develop and monitor black studies, courses and curricula, black cultural centers, black student activities advisors, black recruiters and financial aid advisors, black clinical and counseling psychologists, black career development and placement staff and other student services professionals.

Historically, student affairs staff and administrators have achieved permanent positions through a series of learning/training experiences beginning with academic majors in such disciplines as student personnel, guidance and counseling, educational psychology, recreation, and sometimes social work or a related human services field. This study was usually followed by graduate training with work in residence life, student activities, intramural recreation, etc. Graduate training presumed some knowledge of how student services fit with and supported the institutions' traditional missions of research, teaching and public service typical of land grant colleges and universities.

Interestingly, the student development theory and the data and new emphasis it generated were burgeoning at about the same time as the increases in the numbers of black students and staff on the campuses. Student affairs practitioners were expected to understand and integrate the work of Kenniston, Heath, Erikson, Sanford, Turner, and others. These were concepts and models which took little cognizance of cultural deficit as a learning theory - and recognized few impacts of race and culture on student development. It did, however, become and remains a significant aspect of the current literature, training and philosophy of the profession.

It is significant in this context, that during the programmatic implementation of this theory and other important innovations in the field, the number of blacks entering the profession probably doubled. Few of these black professionals had come through the traditional graduate programs nor were they filling existing positions. Myers and Sandeen survey shows that the only increases in black staff in student affairs occurred during the large initial increases in black student enrollments between 1969 and 1972. Since that time there has been a leveling of those numbers as reported by surveys conducted by the Association of Non-White Concerns of the American Personnel Guidance Association.

Most black staff in student affairs had narrowly defined roles, usually in some minority focused activity such as recruitment, admissions, financial aid or something called minority affairs programming. Others were on the staffs of one of the federally funded support programs such as Upward Bound, Special Services, Talent Search, Titles I or III, etc. These programs generated substantial numbers of staff although their visibility and interactions with other student affairs' staff tended to be minimal. Most came from education, social service or community action agencies, local government or one of the helping professions. The first wave of these people was hired by referral long before affirmative action guidelines for search procedures were in place. This trend continued until institutions and administrators had a better idea of what the appropriate roles and qualifications of these staffs should be. Their work was not seen as important or consistent with institutional goals and priorities. Their work was usually seen as ancillary to the institution's real business. They and their students were seen by many in the campus community as a concession to the equal access movement. Job descriptions were vague. Many black staff reported great anxiety and anger with the way they were treated on the campus. Often hidden away in dreary, poorly equipped and inaccessible buildings or offices, they were constantly reminded that they were on soft money; that they were there as a part of concessions to students and bleeding heart liberals; and that they were, like their students, neither wanted nor welcome. The worst realization that occured to those staffs who worked with minority students early on in those programs was that they were neither seen nor treated as colleagues. For many that was a devastatconflicts between students and faculty or various administrative units; between students and themselves and their staffs; or between their staffs and other staff. Indeed, too often the success of a minority student-oriented program on a white campus was determined by the public perceptions of the activity which might not always agree with the substance of the activity. For example, a successful program could well be one in which there was little notoriety, bad press or embarrassment to the institution. These programs rarely had institutionally negotiated and shared missions or clear objectives. Consequently, it was difficult to codify their overall effectiveness or impact.

That first group of program directors was a curious and suspicious lot, wary of their colleagues and unaware or unfamiliar with the historical development of the institutions and the legal or organizational constraints which affect decisions and policies. Few were trained in research, psychometrics, higher educational administration, program management or curriculum development. The early performances of these people reflected those and other skill and information deficits. It is a tribute to their energy if not their administrative perspicacity that so many programs and program directors and staffs survived at all.

Absent the more traditional academic training, experiences and most important the crucial professional mentoring, these administrators developed a curiously peripatetic managerial style. It is an approach to systems which is free wheeling, high-energy and entrepreneurial. W.A.T. Byrd (1970) has defined it as eopocratic. It is further characterized as versatile and charismatic which valued loyalty to the unit above other traits. Eopocratics had high tolerance for ambiguous situations and often created and encouraged them. They were also able to manipulate people and structures in their fervent zeal to change the forms and structures of the higher education establishment. Patience and tolerance of the slowness with which institutions change is not found among eopocratic directors. One of the common complaints aimed at them was that they didn't usually act like professionals. In their language, dress, managerial behavior, they often were seen as too much like the students they worked with. Their styles were often confrontive and even combative. Many saw themselves as primarily student advocates - a view that placed them from time to time in adversarial relationships to the institutions by which they were employed. It was often a painful schizophrenic and lonely place, and many did not survive it.

An example of the skill deficit referred to earlier is in the matter of evaluation and research. It is a given that institutions need and depend on evaluative data particularly in very expensive and highly political and controversial programs and services. Not only did early program managers not evaluate; they did not trust people who did. As a result we have lost most of the invaluable information about the first decade of the education of large numbers of black students at white universities. Directors tended to rely on what House refers to as the saga approach to evaluation which is an uninformed but passionate corruption of the very useful ethnographic and case study methodology of Stake, Denny and others.

Which of those skills can and should be transferred into the broader arena of student affairs? Probably all of them; the versatility, enthusiasm, endurance, confidence and commitment to make programs work and ensure the adjustment, success and survival of students and to assist minority staff members to learn and grow, to develop themselves professionally so that they can find a place in the field. We cannot survive without those behaviors and attitudes - particularly now in times of seriously declining resources. We must also encourage, assist, even require that newer and younger staff pursue advanced degrees to ensure that they are acquiring the appropriate information and training in research, data gathering and analysis, report writing. We must require that they understand current theories and practices in student development, learning styles, and the laws affecting higher education. They must also expect to be active in professional organizations.

There are many specific skills that need to be developed and sharpened and they must include writing for publication. Staff should have the ability and eligibility to teach at the institution where they work. They should understand their professional role within the institution and be clear on their relationships to students when they are functioning as mediator, negotiator, disciplinarian, confronter and educator. These are difficult roles for minority staff because of the expectations these students assume when they deal with staff with whom they identify.

Black professionals have to understand that many of the constraints to professional mobility will result from their limiting their vision of themselves as professionals to specifically black or minority concerns and activities. These are not choices to be made cavalierly.

While appropriate skills can be acquired and developed in most areas, there are other needs which are equally critical. Those needs are for information and strategies for acquiring, interpreting and using information. Professional and social isolation of black professionals is still severe. It is more severe for minority women - but that is a discussion for another forum. In order for minority professionals in student affairs to become effective managers of a unit such as student activities or student services they must have accurate and current information on such topics as fraternities and sororities, student government, intramural athletics, the non-intellective factors that affect retention and attrition, international student concerns, current trends in student counseling, the place of students in institutional governance, financial planning and budget preparation.

A collegiate institution is a complex hierarchical system with subtle and not-so-subtle protocols and constraints. In such systems availability, access and use of information is critical particularly in reducing real or imagined isolation. An advantage of working in a large institution or near a highly populated area is the reduction of cultural and social isolation particulary for minorities and women.

The urgency of the need for better trained blacks in the field is illustrated in many obvious and some not so obvious ways. Scollay reported that an expectation of federal funding of minority programs was an increase in the numbers of minority staffs in student affairs. That has not been the case. In fact, she writes, "...the vast majority of on-campus federally related program directors and senior staff are white males." There are not many blacks and fewer Hispanics moving into middle and upper level administrative positions from the ranks of specialized activities. Moreover, no longer are the majority of students served in those programs black. More and more funds previously earmarked to serve minority students are being re-allocated to more traditional and institutionalized activities such as learning centers, counseling and academic support and placement services.

The current budget crunch and resource strain will be with us for the forseeable future. Services to minority and low income students will be vulnerable because it costs more to educate and serve them. These are such times that severely test institutional commitment.

But these times also test our commitment as professionals to be creative, skillful, careful managers, educators and professionals. Our students - all of them - deserve no less.

AN EXAMINATION OF BLACK UPWARD MOBILITY IN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

Constantine B. Simonides

Introduction

A great mathematician and philosopher once responded to a persistent questioner by saying: The answer to your question, sir, is that I disagree with it!

I am tempted today to use this response. If I had only 60 seconds to speak, I would say that the typical Dean for Student Affairs position as we have it in most universities today is not a good model for upward mobility in higher education administration. And if that is so, making this model as we have it transferable to other areas of the university is not a good idea.

But I was given more than 60 seconds to speak and I do have more to say.

Let me begin by filing a personal disclaimer with you: I am not a researcher in education or in management. Thanks to one of my colleagues, Dr. Patricia Bell Scott, I have recently studied a few very informative papers on the topic of professional growth and specifically on training needs and programs for senior administrative jobs. I am much impressed by the research, and by the theory generated in this area of career and personal growth. But I am far from being an expert. Because I am not an expert, I cannot preach to you. But, as the preacher said in Dr. Proctor's story, I can tell you the truth!

My comments are quite parochial to M.I.T. when it comes to facts and experiences I can cite. Their value, if any, is in the questions they may stimulate in the minds of the group assembled here. These questions may, in turn, suggest solutions -- solutions which at best will be custom-made to particular environments, to individual institutions, or to clusters of schools that have many things in common, such as Big Ten Universities, the Ivy League schools, or the small liberal arts colleges. Problems and solutions may also be custom-made to particular people or clusters of people in similar jobs, such as staffers, line managers, observers, activists, and maybe even Deans.

My goal then is to raise questions in your minds about what may be needed, what may be a good thing for you, and what may work for you.

One of my favorite quotes comes from James Thurber: "It is better to know some of the questions than all of the answers."

Routes to the Top

I have organized my remarks into five main points. Let me run through them. Point one is simple and quick: we should accept, without comment or scrutiny, the existence of the black Dean for Student Affairs phenomenon. It is certainly true in the circle of universities I know something about. On the key question of this workshop, however, of whether this phenomenon is transferable to other parts of the university and if so how, things are not so simple.

My second point is a suggestion that we examine some of the most popular road maps, the entry modes, and the routes of mobility and growth in university administration. I would like to distinguish three major such routes or approaches, and in doing so I admit to some oversimplification. Type (A) is what I may describe as the highly educated, certified, credentialled Specialist. This may be a professional CPA, safety engineer, benefits expert, counselor or dean type (more recently perhaps even a lawyer). When it comes to the student services area, this person would be most likely to have a Master's degree or Ph.D. in sociology, psychology, or in one of the more ad hoc specialities of counseling or educational administration, or student personnel. He or she walks up to a job, certificate in hand, knocks on the front door, and comes into the institution or into the job as the best qualified candidate. Let me signify this type (A) by the acronym HECS (Highly Educated Certified Specialists).

Type (B) is the mature, mid- or late-career, experienced person who comes into the management of education from the academic side of the house, or from another "industry." It may be a businessman or businesswoman, and if so he or she knows management but does not know much about the university world. Or it may be a professor, who knows education and the university, but does not know much about management practice. (The path of professor to administrator has been the standard route into senior administration in most universities like M.I.T.) Or it may be a retired military officer who knows quite a bit about getting things done, has a savvy about people, but probably knows very little about universities or about professional management. We've seen much less of this type in recent years. They tend to be attracted to business, where there is more money and opportunity; in turn, universities have less room for that type of outsider in a period of economic retrenchment. In any case, all of the people in this category have done much of their growing outside the administrative ladder, and they land on the job as ready-made, full-blown professionals. We'll call them EMCP (Experienced Mid-Career Professionals).

Type (C) is an insider growing up on a fast track or, if you will, on a more relaxed upward slope. He or she comes in fairly young (after college or graduate school), arrives into the university usually by chance rather than by design, and begins to work on the lower floors. Then (slowly or quickly) he or she discovers the track to the upper floors of management. For many this track will be a winding stairway, for some an escalator, for a lucky few an elevator. More on this later. When asked, the people who have grown by this inside route usually find it hard to describe how they got where they are. All they seem to remember is "working hard...and being lucky..." That is their standard quote. And it is, by and large, an accurate observation...almost; it misses an important factor, the Mentoring Process that helps in the upward climb. Let us call this type (C) the ICBM (Insiders Climb by Mentoring).

Of course there are infinite variations and combinations of these three approaches, all of them less pure than my three descriptions; some of them combining all three types in a series of career phases. Indeed, some HECSs become ICBMs and some ICBMs jump across as EMCPs to other areas or jobs or institutions; there are some EMCPs who have been known to go back to school in order to HECS their way to a better job. But the three models are very useful in examining our topic: the phenomenon of blacks in student services and its transferability to other areas of administration.

My third point is an assertion: historically, a majority of men and women have qualified for the Dean or other jobs in student services primarily by the route of the HECS -- the highly educated, certified, credentialled Specialist in education and related fields.

Traditionally, blacks have been attracted to, have entered in greater numbers, and have excelled in these fields of study. One may point out with justification that, as a program of study, the major in education or education administration is not a very specialized program (it covers a wide spectrum of fields). Within the administration of universities, however, that sort of preparation is seen as a narrow speciality and is isolated much in a way that personnel specialists are traditionally isolated in the industrial/business setting. Rightly or wrongly, the majority of our Deans for Student Affairs (both the jobs and the majority of the incumbents) tend to be seen by the rest of the university as professional "experts:" personnel managers, inn keepers, social workers, counselors, and people-helping Specialists. Many of them are outstanding professionals in their fields; but they are seen as Specialists. And as Specialists they are isolated from the main line of management succession. At best, they are considered as special purpose managers, not as general managers or as academic leaders.

My fourth point is that, if you accept the simplified models I have proposed, you would conclude that the HECS type entry into the Deanship can easily become a dead-end, if it does not deliberately push the incumbent into the type (C) ICBM pattern of growth. To generalize this point beyond the Deanship, the credentialled Specialist route (that has given us many competent professionals in student services) is not a successful route upward to senior general management or to academic management in the university. My experience suggests that the larger, the more diverse, and the more prestigious the university, the less chance the HECS type will have to make it to the top.

This point is a gloomy prediction indeed -- it simply says that you cannot get there from here! Put in more positive terms, we might ask two questions: First, how could we make the Dean jobs (and the incumbents) more upwardly mobile into the university's general management structure? Second, what useful advice can we give to young aspiring professionals in all areas regarding upward mobility in our universities?

I have to say, parenthetically, that here at M.I.T., given the observations and the biases I have just expressed, our purpose both in setting up the job of the Dean for Student Affairs and in recruiting a Dean to fill the post, was explicitly aimed to counter this model of the Specialist. More on this later.

My fifth and final point is an attempt to answer these two questions, drawing on my limited local experience and the little I know about some other institutions.

Fast Track Upward Mobility Formula

From an empirical standpoint, I would offer the M.I.T. job description and qualifications (see Exhibit A) as a sample of how to fight the dead-end stereotype of the Dean for Student Affairs. I believe we have succeeded in our goal and I would be happy to elaborate, or better yet refer you to a live case in point, Dr. Shirley McBay, our Dean for Student Affairs, who has gone from Mathematician to Academic Dean to Government Servant and now to senior M.I.T. official with student service responsibilities. Let me add that Dr. Proctor's striking characterization of the black administrator as a veritable bridge person applies fully both to the design of this job and to the incumbent, who incidentally is one of the organizers of this conference.

On the more generalized question of how one moves or climbs up the administrative ladder, I would like to propose to you my own version of the fast track upward mobility formula. Its ingredients: first of all luck. And right up there next to luck is hard work. Believe it or not the two are closely related. "The harder I work the luckier I get." Next to Thurber's quote about the value of questions this is my favorite motto.

Second, it helps to have a collegiate or experience background that spells cold competence. To me, management competence in the university is made up of (a) intellectual substance, because that is what universities are about; (b) liberating influences, and by this I mean facilities with language, with written and oral communication, and a math literacy; and (c) a high general level of awareness, or GLA, as one of my old mentors used to say when he wanted to point to someone who naturally attracts attention and interest in a group meeting.

Third, my formula includes at least some postgraduate management courses (or equivalent experience). Examples include economics, accounting, statistics, and organizational behavior. These courses are essential to give a well-educated person a professional edge in these days of economic crunch and of premium demands for supervisory skills and for subtlety in human relations.

Fourth, and I believe crucial for growth, is a significant staff experience; ideally this should come as early on in one's career as possible. Staff work gives much needed practice in analysis, in writing and conceptualizing skills. And it provides crucial visibility to top management.

I have saved the most important ingredient for last. It is the relation with a mentor or mentors, those sine qua non human catalysts that turn a working environment into a learning and growing environment. I should not delve here into what mentors are and what they can do. There is no time. Suffice it to say that mentors help in supplying the mix of essential tools; the mix that includes encouragement, technique and tactical advice, wisdom, and (above all) a set of pressing and challenging personal questions about potential and about progress to realize potential. These tools cause a stretching on the job that is cardinal to growth, to recognition, and to upward mobility. Mentors see to it that their charges have enough successes to be remembered by, and ample opportunities for mistakes to learn from. No one learns from success alone. No one survives without it. Without success and without mistakes there is no growth possible.

And without mentors there is really no opportunity for growth. For me it is that simple. At the heart of the matter, equal opportunity means a fair shot at the best mentoring available in the institution. As Equal Opportunity Officer of this Institute, I can probably do no better than to make sure that each and every woman, each and every minority member (man or woman), each black administrator at M.I.T., has one or more competent mentors.

Let me add here as a very important footnote my belief that mentoring involves bartering; it is always a two-way exchange. Each of us has something special we need from a mentor, and yes, each of us has something special to give to that mentor.

My placing mentoring as the fifth ingredient is done on purpose. Without much time to elaborate, I would assert that the best route to secure a good mentor is to go through the first four ingredients: luck and hard work; cold competence (Intellectual Substance, Liberating Influences, and High GLA); some management courses;and heavy staff work, early on.

EXHIBIT A

Dean for Student Affairs
at the
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

The Dean for Student Affairs articulates and takes initiatives on issues pertaining to the living and learning environment at the Institute; represents the interests and welfare of M.I.T. students; and is concerned with the growth of students both as individuals and as members of the academic community. He or she is a member of the Academic Council, the senior policy-making group of the M.I.T. administration.

The Dean is expected to ensure that the activities of the Office support and complement the academic program and that the staff maintain close working relations with the Institute's departments and faculty as well as with the student body. The Office of the Dean for Student Affairs is organized into four major sections: Undergraduate Academic Support Office, Student Assistance Services, Student Activities, and Residence Programs. The last three sections serve both undergraduate and graduate students. The Dean is responsible for the direction of all programs of the Office, including educational, administrative, and planning functions, as well as the development of the staff.

The Dean is expected to manage the Office with a special concern for enhancing communication and collaborative effort with all other student related services within M.I.T.

Qualifications for this position include strong academic orientation; commitment to students and ability to recognize, support and encourage diversity in the student body; and well-established professional stature. Among the personal qualities that are expected in the Dean are: decisiveness, leadership skills, organizational ability, energy, and a sense of humor and self-perspective.

N.B. Please note that the above description consists of three principal job components:

First, the Dean is a general officer of the university; policy making influence, presence, and visibility are essential.
Second, the Dean is a manager of operations and staff; responsibility and accountability provide both training for higher positions and, once again, a visible testing ground.
Third, the Dean is a collaborator outside his or her own area; communication, cooperation, and outreach are important job requirements.

FACTORS AFFECTING CAREER MOBILITY OF BLACK ADMINISTRATORS AT PREDOMINANTLY WHITE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

LeVester Tubbs

If we reviewed higher education in America, we could characterize the decade of the 1960's as a period of radical changes and experiments. We may view the decade of the 1970's as one of equal opportunity and affirmative action. In comparison, as we focus more into the 1980's, it seems quite evident to me that this period is going to be one of neglect which will be disastrous for institutions of higher education. The current policy of the Reagan administration brings threats to the advances and achievements from the past two decades which translates into a turning back of the hands of time.

Prior to the 1960's, few, if any, black administrators were found in predominantly white colleges and universities. Black student activism of the sixties brought considerable pressure on the white administration of these campuses, thereby paving the way for the employment of black administrators. A majority of those black administrators employed in predominantly white colleges and universities during this period had duties and responsibilities that were related to minority concerns. Most of these administrators had working titles such as Assistant Dean for Minority Concerns, Minority Student Advisor, and in some cases, Vice President for Minority Affairs. Many blacks serving in these positions suffered through some very untenable situations, often caught in conflict between the white administration and the black students.

What we have learned over the years is that black administrators must function within the total university environment if they are to be effective. When duties and responsibilities are limited to black concerns, those concerns are seldom addressed within the context of the total university, and adequate resources rarely, or if ever, are allocated to programs which are oriented exclusively to blacks.

In recent years working titles for blacks have changed. We are finding blacks in chief administrative positions, particularly in the area of Student Affairs. Black chief student affairs administrators now outnumber their black counterparts in other chief administrative positions in predominantly white institutions by more than ten to one. The State of Florida, with eight predominantly white state universities, has three black chief student affairs administrators. The public higher education system in Michigan has six, which includes Michigan and Michigan State, and a quick analysis of the metropolitan Boston area indicates that the University of Massachusetts/Boston, Boston University, Northeastern University, Massachusetts Board of Regents Central Staff, Wellesley College, Tufts University, Harvard University, and even here at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, all have black chief administrators in Student Affairs. I may further note that institutions like the University of Pittsburgh, the University of California-Berkeley, and the University of Nevada/Las Vegas all have black chief student affairs administrators. However, within predominantly white universities in this country, little progress has been made in the recruitment, selection, and hiring of blacks for executive management positions outside the area of student affairs.

In 1977, I conducted a study of sixty-one predominantly white public four-year institutions with an enrollment of five thousand or more students to determine the number of blacks in executive management positions. The results of this study indicated that there were six chief executive officers. Of those six schools, only two now have chief executives that are black.

Mobility Factors

In considering upward mobility into any administrative capacity, there are several factors that are relevant after the completion of appropriate academic preparation. The first group of factors can be classified as *External Factors*. And I might note that these factors are the least controllable or predictable of all the factors. The first external factor is *Social Climate*. By social climate, I mean the society's general feelings and attitudes toward blacks at a particular time and in a particular place. Halloran points out that all attitudes are learned, developed, and organized through experience. Each attitude has a cognitive component, or that which the individual believes; an affective component, that which the individual likes or dislikes; and an action tendency component, or the readiness of an individual to respond or react.

Black administrators must be prepared to deal with a variety of attitudes and feelings. Many blacks employed in predominantly white institutions want to believe that they have made it. Yet, the climate in which they function daily continues to question their competence and capability to perform the duties and responsibilities assigned. This questioning does not result from a lack of demonstrated competence, rather, it is largely due to a lack of confidence and belief in the black administrator's ability, all rooted in preconceived attitudes. Moore and Wagstaff indicate that black educators in predominantly white colleges and universities perceive themselves as aliens. Blacks are alien first because they are black. To be black in a predominantly white college or university is to be different. And when one looks different one is looked upon differently.

We have been taught that academic institutions exist for the transmission of knowledge, the pursuit of truth, the development of students, and for the *general well-being of society*. If this is the case, then the colleges' and universities' social climate must be based on these principles.

A second external factor that must be noted is the role of the *federal government*. If it were not for the federal government, regardless of qualifications, most blacks working in predominantly white colleges and universities would not be employed at these institutions. Affirmative action by the federal government places pressure on higher educational institutions to ensure equal employment opportunities. However, after approximately two decades, many individuals within the academic community have not wholeheartedly endorsed the affirmative action concept.

A final and equally significant external factor is that of *Institutional Climate*. In this area, I am not concerned about the general environment. However, I am concerned about the need to understand the institutions' organizational structure and instructional politics. Within any organization, politics is always present. I am not referring to the role of the administrator as a policy maker, but as one who needs to understand the power struggles within the organization. Louis Fair characterizes this as the day-to-day politics of "who will get what," and indicates that your survival can well depend upon how you play in this in-fighting game. Black administrators in predominantly white institutions must be able to properly assess campus politics. Campus politics should not be underestimated before, during or after employment.

In addition to these external factors, there are other factors which also influence professional mobility of blacks. Among these are factors which I call Situational Factors. Situational factors may often come about due to social or societal influences. Situational factors are fostered through personal contacts and relationships that are created through mentoring, networking and linkages. Blacks must develop networks and linkages in order to foster black upward mobility. We must encourage mentoring as a means of developing career paths in the various professions.

A third series of factors to be considered are Internal Factors. These factors can be classified as personal characteristics. First, to advance in a competitive professional arena, there must be a desire to achieve and there must be some self-motivation. Secondly, and equally important, there must be a capability to make decisions. In his study on "The Black Presence in Higher Education," Billingsley points out that black administrators are more decisive in the decision-making process. He noted that while white administrators seem to seek a referendum and a vote of confidence before they make a decision, black administrators seek input and do not apologize for making decisions for which they are responsible. Black administrators must be skillful and analytical in the decision-making processes.

A third internal factor is adaptability. Many black administrators are unwilling to adjust to new situations or to make the necessary compromises that their responsibility requires. The effective administrator is one who systematically reviews a situation and knows when to make the necessary adjustments. Oftentimes, this requires skills in negotiation techniques in order to facilitate a compromise. A fourth factor is mobility. I believe in the fundamental principles of employment stability. However, it is known that professional advancement often means that one must relocate, and that such relocation can have a variety of influences on one's personal and professional relationships. In considering mobility factors, one must have a capacity to comprehend both the pros and cons of institutional and geographic relations and having done so, be willing to take the risk associated with such moves.

The Need for Leadership

There is a critical need to improve the quality of leadership at all levels in higher education in both black and white institutions. While considerable insightful literature has been advanced to address the subject of leadership generally, certain aspects and dimensions of leadership have not received sufficient analytical review and attention; particularly, the inter/intrapersonal dimension of effective leadership. Since leaders automatically incur the professional responsibility to continue self-appraisal and evaluation, inter/intrapersonal variables necessarily play a significant role in the spectrum of effective leadership characteristics.

The leadership question confronting organizations today should be based not on how well the leader is liked or whether he appeals personally to followers. The major question confronting the organization should be the reason why the leader is followed. One must remember that at all times it takes more than willingness to be a leader; it also takes ability. An effective leader should be sensitive, analytical, persuasive and yet diplomatic. Black administrative leaders in predominantly white institutions must combine leadership skills, management techniques and human relations if they are going to be successful. To the black student affairs administrator, the effectiveness as to how he/she manipulates the various leadership variables is even more paramount. The black student affairs administrator must work with the white administration in providing services to both black and white students. Such services should enhance the teaching/learning process, thereby, requiring the chief student affairs officer to work with all segments of the academic community.

Career Development

Most people consider a career to be a profession, requiring preparation and training in undertaking a permanent calling. In order to maximize one's professional development, a personal assessment is periodically required. Most people find it difficult to access themselves objectively. You should occasionally step back, the way you step back to savor a new automobile, and analyze where you stand and where you would like to go. I believe career development to be a personal assessment. Know who you are in terms of your basic needs and values; your greatest personal strength and your most limited shortcomings. Know where you are in terms of long-term, mid-term and short-term goals. Know where you want to go in the hierarchy, and know all the environmental restraints. In addition, you must have a series of options readily available.

Career patterns for chief student affairs officers varies drastically. In a study by Ostroth, eighty-two percent of the respondents of a random sampling of four hundred schools were males. The ages ranged from twenty-four to sixty-seven. Fifty percent held doctoral degrees. Forty-five percent held a degree at the Masters level, twenty percent held degrees in Higher Education; another twenty percent in Counseling and fourteen percent in College Student Personnel. Twelve percent held degrees in other fields within education, and the rest had studied in a variety of fields. Thirty-three percent were vice presidents, fifty-eight percent were deans of students, and nine percent held the title of Director of Student Affairs.

Ostroth also noted when he asked the respondents about their next move from their present position, of those who answered the question, the largest portion, twenty-eight percent, thought they would move to a chief student affairs position in another institution. One-fourth said their next move would be retirement. Another fourteen percent expected to move to college and university presidencies, eleven percent to teaching positions and seven percent expected to move to vice president positions outside student affairs.

For those interested in moving up in the administrative hierarchy, Klemp points out three job competence assessments.

1) The ability to perform the task by a job description does not by itself guarantee a high level of performance.

2) The best way to identify job competence is to find individuals who are considered outstanding in their work and to analyze what they do.

3) The most efficient way to identify and analyze job competencies is to place primary emphasis on an analysis of people in the most senior positions.

Communication

Black administrators have the functions of communication, representation and interpretation to play in predominantly white colleges and universities. The single most important factor affecting communication by black administrators is self-concept. How blacks see themselves and their situation affects their ability to communicate effectively. If organizational lines, duties and responsibilities are not clear, if appropriate status and recognition is not given, if others in the organization see, or feel, that the black administrator's role is in presence only, then low esteem develops. This is followed by a feeling of inferiority and a lack of confidence. The enhancement of self-concept within the organization is a major responsibility of the chief executive officer.

A second important factor is listening. Listening is much more intricate and complicated than the physical presence of hearing. Listening is an intellectual input in search of meaning and understanding. Black administrators must develop the art of listening. A third factor is the ability to transmit information effectively in both oral and written form. Black administrators must be able to demonstrate accuracy and clarity in communicating with people of all races, ethnic groups and cultures. A fourth and final factor in this area is feedback. Feedback is a method of sharing feelings. Feedback sharing should be incorporated into our daily experience as a means of constructive openness.

The black administrator must be prepared to represent the university in diverse community and civic activities. Black administrators are often called upon by segments of both the black and white communities to interpret the university's mission and services to the community. Involvement in these activities is beneficial to the university in the enhancement of the university's image as well as opening up lines of communication. The range of the black administrators involvement in this area is probably second to the chief executive officer.

A major problem that black administrators encounter in predominantly white institutions is that of interpretation. Most black administrators are asked continuously -- what do the blacks think? As difficult as it is to explain. . . . Blacks have as many different opinions about a particular issue as do whites.

I believe the white university environment must become sensitive to the problem of calling on black administrators only when black issues are involved. The need to integrate thought and opinions must permeate the entire university community.

Personnel and Fiscal Management

The areas of personnel and fiscal management are probably the two most important factors of all. The managerial skills of leaders determine the success or failure of an organization. It is important that individuals have knowledge of the techniques and processes pertinent to effective management. The two distinct elements of any manager's job are the task to be done and the human relations skills needed to see that the task is completed. Human relation skills will determine the success or failure of a black administrator in personnel management.

I think little needs to be said about financial or fiscal accountability. The one sure way to bring a career to a close is financial irresponsibility.

Black administrators' probationary period in predominantly white colleges and universities never ends. Black administrators must be a role model for both black and white students, faculty and staff alike. All of us like to be liked. It is critical that we be well thought of and that people like to be around us. However, we should avoid at all costs allowing friendship to interfere with professional judgment.

Black administrators in predominantly white colleges are not only alien in white colleges and universities but alien in all higher education. Blacks in historically black colleges do not believe that their colleagues in white institutions are capable of representing them or speaking on their behalf. Yet, the white administrators, faculty and staff on white colleges and university campuses have not totally accepted the black administrators into their fold. Black administrators in predominantly white colleges and universities must continue to fight for survival, success and security. Through this process, we must think both analytically and systematically. In order to facilitate this process, the following propositions are offered:

- More attention needs to be given to assist blacks to obtain equal access to positions and to work up through the administrative hierarchy.

- Black organizations should assist black administrators in the area of professional development. This should help to improve career ascension.

- Black administrators should periodically assess what they have achieved professionally, where they are headed and how these factors match their personal goals and values.

- Black administrators need to place greater emphasis on mentoring. . . . providing guidance and advice to the young professionals as they pursue the mastery of career goals.

- More information must be obtained regarding employment patterns to assure that black administrators are not stereotyped into student affairs or other administrative positions.

- Blacks must create a network and maintain linkages to other blacks in both historically black and predominantly white institutions.

- Black administrators must interact with other black faculty and staff at the institution.

- Black administrators must be accessible to enrolled black students at the institution and actively concerned and involved with the issues and concerns which affect their academic and socio-cultural development within the institution.

The success of black administrators in predominantly white colleges is important to the entire system of all higher education. We must work to move blacks into all areas within our institutions. Success in this effort requires cooperation and understanding; not only from the black community, but from the white community as well. An understanding of the factors affecting blacks in predominantly white colleges and universities should prove fruitful to white administrators in their efforts to provide guidance and leadership to a diverse university community. In combining the many threats of this decade, it is a challenge each of us must meet!

ESTIMATING SUCCESS POTENTIALS OF DIRECTORS OF CENTERS FOR BLACK STUDIES IN PREDOMINANTLY WHITE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Floyd L. Bass

An organization should be constructed and operated in order to accomplish its work efficiently. The activities of the organization should contribute either directly or indirectly to the personal goals of its members. Clark Kerr in *The Uses of The University* pointed out that with the rebirth of the university at the beginning of the nineteenth century, both the academic department and the center or institute were created with an "uncritical reliance on the great professional who ruled for life over his department or institute." A totally different picture is presented by the center for black studies in predominantly white colleges and universities.

The Center For Black Studies Centers for black studies have developed as interdepartmental or interdisciplinary agencies in predominantly white colleges and universities to promote mastery of subject matter and advance the uses of knowledge in contemporary society. One proposal for the establishment of a center for black studies would include nine functions or activities growing out of a set of six assumptions. The six assumptions are (1) black studies as an area of culture-centered cluster of subjects is a genuine field of study; (2) serious efforts must be directed both to studying the black experience and to disseminating the results of such study; (3) black studies seeks to contribute to the whole student population; (4) curricular needs for black studies may be met flexibily by means of the center or institute device; (5) the major in black studies is a target or goal for undergraduates; and (6) a broad cultural base at the graduate level may be provided by a wise selection from several areas of the humanities and the social sciences.

The center for black studies should (1) assist departments in developing courses to create a balanced program; (2) assist departments in recruiting, selecting and retaining members of the university faculty; (3) provide support for research and teaching assistants; (4) help the library augment its holdings; (5) sponsor colloquia and post-doctoral fellowships; (6) serve as an assembly point and clearing house for academic information of all kinds for students and professional staff; (7) prepare catalog and brochure materials to aid students in discovering the course work and other resources available to them; (8) coordinate the work of academic counselors who direct work in black studies for both undergraduate and graduate students; and (9) control a budget of seed money to support these efforts, plus a small number of positions in the fields related to black studies.

The successes of centers for black studies and center directors in predominantly white colleges and universities may be investigated from the perspectives of career mobility, tenure of service, or by an estimate of the relative influence of selected factors on their achievements as black administrators. It is essential that concerted efforts be given to defining in detail these centers for black studies in predominantly white colleges and universities. A determination of the factors which contribute to the success of center directors perceive the centers for black studies in predominantly white colleges and universities as "achievement situations."

Illustrative characteristics of the center for black studies that represent it as an "achievement situation" are (1) successful competition of the budget of the center for black studies with those of the traditional academic departments; (2) engagement in promotion, tenure and re-appointment policies and procedures relating to joint faculty appointments and related personnel matters; or (3) the award of funds for cooperative sponsorship of colloquia, internships and post-doctoral study.

The Center Director The ability of the center director to perform in administrative roles and the ability to make correct decisions serve as limits to the quality and quantity of administrative behavior. A successful center director exhibits initiative, physiological stamina, established habit patterns, loyalty and a sense of duty to the center for black studies, and an understanding of the fundamentals of black studies along with the ability and willingness to communicate with others about this field of study.

Another view of success for black administrators may be described as the "average length of service" within a variety of fields (admissions, financial aid, black studies, etc.) while employed in positions within one or more institutions. Tenure of service or "professional age" for black administrators may be measured in terms of the total number of years spent in one occupational field divided by the number of institutions in which one has been employed. It is generally agreed that a black administrator may be considered as old after a professional age of ten years. Some evidence suggests that elder professionals are somewhat more stable (enjoy a longer tenure of service) within church-related colleges than their colleagues in state-supported institutions.

There are internal pressures experienced by the center director in search for success. They may be evidenced by a search for increased job satisfaction, concern for an enhanced social status, or a greater opportunity for challenge and creativity. Contrasts among success potentials of directors of centers for black studies in predominantly white colleges and universities may reflect differences in the directors' needs and dispositions, and these may vary from one center for black studies to another.

Environmental pressures within the center for black studies may be illustrated by changes associated with a loss or re-assignment of professional staff or faculty members, additional funding and staff resources, or a new location for facilities and equipment. The interaction of internal and environmental influences on the success of center directors may be illustrated in terms of administrative careers that are (1) routine, (2) self-determined, (3) situationally-determined, or (4) self-adaptive. The absence of career changes and an uneventful series of job changes suggests a minimum of external or internal influences during a rather routine career. A self-directed career might be characterized by job changes influenced by the individual's desire to change to assignments with an increasing challenge within the same or different institutions. A merger or a combination of the duties and responsibilities of an administrator with those of a more traditional academic agency might illustrate influences associated with situationally-determined careers. The self-adaptive career may be characterized by those of center directors able and willing to shape their own careers in the face of internal and external pressures to "move into the mainstream" of college and university administration.

It is essential that more attempts be made to describe in detail these center directors in predominantly white colleges and universities. A determination of the factors which contribute to the success of center directors involves an identification of their perceptions of themselves as black administrators. It is important to a view of their success that center directors perceive their management assignments in predominantly white colleges and universities as "achievement roles."

Illustrative characteristics of the center director that represent an "achievement role" are (1) scholar and teacher, (2) an assumption of an administrative role that is endorsed by academic department heads and central administration, (3) major adviser and mentor for advanced graduate students seeking degrees and internships in college and university administration, or (4) participant in efforts to identify his or her successor.

ESTIMATING SUCCESS POTENTIALS Center directors' perceptions of their "achievement roles" and their perceptions of the "achievement situation" are suggested factors that interact in a variety of ways to influence the potentials for success of these black administrators in predominantly white colleges and universities. The success of directors of centers for black studies in predominantly white colleges and universities may be evaluated or predicted by a continuing examination of the relationships between their perceptions of their achievement roles and their perceptions of their achievement situations.

Successful center directors and successful centers for black studies will establish and maintain an increasingly wide-ranging influence on predominantly white colleges and universities and the traditional academic and professional personnel in these institutions. Some successful center directors will seek wider opportunities in larger institutions. Others will move from centers for black studies to somewhat more traditional administrative assignments. A national conference on issues facing black administrators in predominantly white colleges and universities is a timely strategy for examining the influences on and the opportunities for success of directors of centers for black studies.

THE ROLE OF BLACK FACULTY IN FACILITATING UPWARD MOBILITY

William M. Harris

INTRODUCTION

To stimulate serious discussion of the potential and kinetic energies of black faculty members, this paper briefly considers three roles for involvement. As part of a conference workshop, the format is prospective and directed. However, the presentation is reflective of the author's many years of experience as a scholar and academic administrator.

Three roles of faculty members in Black Studies departments are presented in the paper by McDowelle and Harris in these proceedings entitled Impact of Black Mobility in Higher Education: The Role of Black Studies. This presentation complements that article. Here are discussed three roles of black faculty as teachers, researchers, and advocates.

TEACHERS

The teaching function for black faculty must be non-traditional when compared to that of white faculty. While some similarities exist, there are worthy exceptions.

Every college teacher is expected to be accurate in the data and information presented. To be accurate, in possession of the facts of nature of a system, is to be informed of historical and current states of art, relevant research, and trends of development in a field. Consistent with these factors it means constant preparation and readiness in the classroom and office. The best test of accuracy is the frequency of errors. It matters not the subject area. Computations in fluid dynamics permit no greater level of mistakes than analysis of historical events in the development of a social system. Accuracy similarly requires consistency when duplicated by another. Finally it, accuracy, is durable over time when parameters are held constant.

Every instructor is likewise held responsible to be thorough. In this mode the college faculty member is obligated to provide the student as much information, the product of data analysis using a tested paradigm, as currently available. Thoroughness respects employment of a full range of resources of reading materials, equipment, and instructional aids.

African American faculty must exercise more creative energies than their white cohorts. Teaching for black instructors should always be geared toward issues of liberation. Regardless of area, natural sciences and mathematics or social sciences, the black teacher must relate the correlation of his topics to the efforts of African raced peoples to freedom. The application of nuclear theory affects the development of human populations as much as psychological testing. This additional teaching responsibility of black instructors creates tension in the academic environment that is beneficial and productive to intellectual growth.

RESEARCHERS

Only in academic circles is it necessary to draw a dichotomy between teaching and research. No teaching is accurate and thorough unless based upon research. Research is that activity that investigates the relationships between facts of nature. Research justifies teaching. Research provides questions to all answers explaining nature.

All research is biased. In order to formulate questions of nature the researcher must be conditioned by the experiences of his or her environment. Thus the frame of reference the investigator takes in designing, collecting facts, analyzing data, and reporting findings varies with individuals.

The appropriate role of black faculty members in universities is to understand the differences, where existing, in frames of reference. When these differences are known, research can be conducted and honestly presented with a statement of these conditions. In the natural sciences it may be useful to understand if people of African descent view nature differently than do Europeans. In the social sciences it is clear blacks respond differently to environmental conditions than whites in the same social system. It becomes the duty of black faculty to conduct research appreciating the importance of these potential differences in frames of reference.

All research is valuable. However, the more exciting research is that which has some technology transfer potential. For black Americans this means research that influences public policy and programs. African American faculty members owe their community information that serves to lessen the yoke of oppression. Again, as in teaching, the black college researcher is expected to present the case for liberation. A study in the food productivity of oceans has relevance to the market impact to poor blacks. An investigation of the spatial implications of architectural design of street furniture immediately relates to elderly persons who do not own automobiles.

Another important role in research for black faculty is graduate (and undergraduate) student training. Too many black faculty are anxious to demonstrate their "objectivity" by training white researchers, often at the expense of black students. Most black faculty members have produced far more white graduate students than black. Most black faculty members make no affirmative effort to specifically attract black graduate students to assist in their research projects. Research serves to generate competence in students--and faculty. Research also produces replacements and colleagues on faculties. It is the black faculty member who must extend the research laboratory to young black scholars. This is especially the case in light of the history of white faculties who resist black students as evinced through the scarcity of black advanced degrees in majority institutions.

ADVOCATES

In American society there is no middle ground. One opts for change--gradual, moderate or radical. So then black faculty members in majority white colleges are advocates. In doing so they act to influence black students, the African American community, and other black faculty and administrators.

Often presented is the notion black faculty are needed as role models for their students. Common belief holds that these students will benefit from the support and comfort given by black faculty. Especially are these ideas important where a sense of leadership may be perceived in the black faculty member by the students. In addition, black faculty members have traditionally been expected to argue in support of black student demands for academic and social justice at majority white institutions. Black Studies departments were created out of such an atmosphere.

African American faculty people have similarly been expected to come to the support of black community issues. Arguing that it was the Civil Rights struggle that resulted in most black faculty being hired by predominantly white institutions of higher learning, citizens of African descent called upon black faculty to remember their roots. Some were asked to write proposals. Some were requested to articulate the plight and case of poor members of the community to decision makers. Others were approached to be mediators in disputes involving issues of race and class.

Finally, black faculty members have been expected to be part of a family within the college to collectively affront insensitive white faculty and administrators. Sometimes through formal faculty organizations similar to that here at M.I.T. and more often as a loose collection of concerned individuals, black faculty acted in the interests of their academic concerns.

These patterns essentially held true throughout the sixties and seventies. However, the picture has changed. Increasingly black faculty, and especially middle level black college administrators, have behaved differently than the traditionally established pattern. White college senior administrators presently seek, with great success, to hire blacks who are marginally competent academically and even more modestly committed politically to the interests of blacks. This new breed of subservient black administrator is more selfish and narrow in addressing problems of blacks. They are not objective. They take a side. That side is generally against enhancing the fulfillment of black student potential. They are strangers to the black extra-university community. They are co-opted in issues facing black faculty colleagues. They are destructive to the growth of quality in higher education for African Americans. They are maintained and supported in their ineffective roles by racist white administrators who really never had a commitment to high achievement and excellence in black students, community, and faculty. Witness the dismantling of Black Studies departments by compromising black faculty and administrators. Witness the use of administrative rules to control and abate black student demands by fearful black faculty members. Witness the call of police to reject black parent efforts to bring equity to their sons and daughters in majority white colleges by co-opted black administrators.

CONCLUSION

Space and time constrain a full development of these issues. Needed is more continued evaluation of the roles of black faculty. To follow must be a plan that would eliminate the barriers to black achievement--whether those blocks are black or white. The cross of implementing these changes must be borne by the remaining black faculty possessing the courage, competence, and commitment to liberation of African Americans. The struggle continues!

PROFESSIONAL MOBILITY CAUSATION AND THE BLACK ADMINISTRATOR

Joseph J. Russell

The invitation to share in this "history making" conference ask that I share philosophical and experiential notions about "The Role of Black Studies in Facilitating Black Upward Mobility in Higher Education." The topic is one that I have perhaps lived with in the main rather than studied. Thus, the ideas and data that I exert upon its analysis are correspondingly personal and impressionistic rather than empirical and exhaustive.

In order that we establish a kind of mind-set for this discussion, let me remind you of two or three perspectives for consideration.

1. There is an old adage which reports "That the more things change the more they remain the same."

2. The biologist-researcher-writer, Lewis Thomas and I agree that you don't have to go all the way with B. F. Skinner to acknowledge that the environment does make a difference, and when you examine what we really mean by "environment," it comes down to other human beings. We use euphemisms and jargon for this like "social forces," "cultural influences," "administrative milieu" and even Skinner's "verbal community," but what energizes these academic labels is a dense crowd of nearby people who talk to, listen to, smile or frown at, give to, withhold from, nudge, push, caress, or flail out at the individual. No matter what the genome says, people have a lot to do with shaping character and sanctioning administrative clout. (Thomas, 1979)

3. A perceptive brother, Professor Henry Allen Bullock, posits, "The functions of any society have 'intended' and 'unintended' dimensions. More recent researchers have supported this view. They have persistently shown that social functions of an unintended quality do arise and cause a society to veer in directions not necessarily set by the specific purposes of the majority. Events do occur 'unofficially' in time and place where those acting 'officially' never willed. Nevertheless, such events become a permanent part of man's past and an effective force behind his future, bringing into existence new social orders and more revolutionary alignments of people." (Bullock, 1970)

To understand the role of Black Studies and black administrators in facilitating black leadership, it is important to establish a conceptual frame work about the labor supply process. A very simplistic model suggest that the black "leadership pool" is a fluid aggregate of talent that is impacted upon by two major forces — Occupational Entrants and Occupational Losses.

Occupational Entrants, persons entering the "pool," come from a variety of sources:

1. Training Programs
   a.) Specifically organized
   b.) Others — liberal arts/other academic areas
   c.) On-the-job training

2. Persons not in the labor force or training (housewives, retired, unemployed, etc.)
3. Transferrals — persons employed in other professions
4. Immigrants

Occupational Losses:

1. Death
2. Illness
3. Retirement
4. Transfer to other occupations

Given the complex mix between the labor supply process and the "patterns of interaction" in higher educational institutions, black administrators have no choice excepting to develop what I call an "administrative broker's" posture. It incorporates the theoretical notion that human action emerges from the interaction of (1) the individual, who brings aspirations, standards, and knowledge or beliefs about causation; and (2) the situation which presents opportunities and constraints. Interaction of the individual (young black professional) and the situation is mediated by his/her perceptions or cognitions aided by the administrative expertise and experience of senior black administrators in the particular institution. Thus, we assume that the purposive individual will try to exploit his/her opportunities (as he/she perceives them) in the direction of his/her aspirations and that, within the limits of constraints he/she believes to be operating, he/she will be guided in this endeavor by his/her beliefs about causation and by the standards or norm he/she believes are appropriate.

A major advantage of this scheme is that it allows one to search in two directions, in the individual and in his environment, for sources of diversity and uniformity. Thus, to the extent that the "entrant" professional cooperates with senior black administrators in predominantly white institutions, we can expect senior black administrators to be successful in facilitating the upward mobility of junior scholars. (Cf. James Thomas, pp. 101-102) Clearly the academic mobility process is structured and generally responsive to institutionally specific series of well defined academic skills and experiences. The challenge is to match the junior scholar with an appropriate sequence of academic tasks and experiences at a particular tenure level which is useful in advancing to the next level of academic/administrative responsibility.

Now on the practical side of professional causation, let us consider the following variables:

1. Black Administrative Paradox
    - a.) Perception of facilitation
    - b.) Reflex refusal
    - c.) Reflex legitimacy
2. Employment of Black Ph.D.'s
    - a.) Science/Engineering
    - b.) Humanities
    - c.) Administration
3. Mentoring and Upward Mobility
    - a.) Senior scholars
    - b.) Junior scholars
    - c.) Students in the pipeline
4. Decision Making
    - a.) Data collection
    - b.) Referral process

Senior black administrators in historically white institutions function daily in a highly complex administrative milieu which I have often labeled a "black administrative paradox." The label is simply an attempt to effectively describe an administrative dilemma in which one is trapped in the middle between the administrative power structure and the minority (black) caucus. The mutual goal is the improvement of educational opportunity and/or professional mobility facilitation for "non-traditional populations" — students, faculty, and staff. It is evident, however, that the mere existence of "educational opportunity" policy and administrative titles(however imaginative) will have little significance unless chairpersons, supervisors, and other decision makers are persuaded to legitimize the upward mobility process for the various academic communities.

With the emergence of Black Studies administrators—Vice Presidents of Minority Affairs and Deans for Afro-American Affairs—the administrative stage was set to give the illusion of "equal opportunity" and/or professional mobility facilitation. The fact is that the sociopolitical process in higher education institutions causes change to take place gradually and, consequently, slows the progress and/or seeming effectiveness of the black administrator. Black administrators are reported as decision makers in the organizational scheme but are seldom given the freedom of undisputed authority. His/her actions are monitored by traditional administrators, conservative faculty guardians of the "status quo," liberal white faculty, faculty councils, alumni, and minority faculty caucuses. groups are armed with their own requirements and expectations regarding the actions of black administrators. For example, traditional or central administrators require academic success with minimum tension; the conservative faculty insist on traditional standards of academic excellence; liberal white faculty call for immediate measures to correct all academic inequities; faculty councils speak of reasonable(committee) approaches to academic problems; alumni groups are concerned about reverse discrimination and the equity process; and minority faculty caucuses worry about "survival" and the relevance of various academic decisions. These are but a few of the variables that contribute so substantially to the paradoxical nature of black administrators in historically white educational institutions. The result is that many recommendations and proposals offered by black administrators are rejected ostensibly by a subjective "reflex refusal of legitimacy." Some progress, admittedly, has been made in transforming this pattern of interaction from a "reflex refusal" to a "reflex legitimacy" phenomenon but the complete transformation will require commitments from all segments of the university populations.

Important among the variables contributing to the black administrators' paradox is the availability of data for sound decision making. Many university decision makers contend that their employment and promotional opportunities for minorities would be greatly enhanced if they could receive reliable data about the professional characteristics of this population. The more frequent queries center around the number of minorities with terminal degrees in education, science, engineering, and humanities at the various academic levels and by comparison with their white counterparts. One suspicions that the demand for "reliable" minority professional data is calculated to perpetuate the reflex refusal of legitimacy concept rather than to encourage academic pluralism.

In any case, the 1981 Survey of the National Research Council reports the following data on minorities with terminal degrees:

1. Approximately 91 percent of the terminal education, science, engineering and humanities degrees earned by minorities were awarded in the 1960's and 1970's, compared with 78 percent for the total population of Ph.D. recipients.

2. The most rapid rates of growth occurred among female minority Ph.D.'s. For example, women earned only 10 percent of the Ph.D.'s in science/engineering awarded to U.S. born minorities in the 1960's, but earned 23 percent of the science/engineering Ph.D.'s awarded to U.S. born minorities in the 1970's.

3. 37 percent of all minority Ph.D.'s in the humanities earned their degrees in modern languages and literature.

4. U.S. born minority Ph.D.'s were employed primarily in academic settings, 60 percent for the scientist/engineers and 82 percent for the humanities, but recent studies suggest that minorities may be moving away from academic employment.

5. With the single exception of minority humanities Ph.D.'s in academic employment, the median salaries were generally higher for whites than minorities. Male Ph.D.'s had higher median annual salaries than female Ph.D.'s in all employment settings. Salaries for Ph.D.'s employed in non-academic jobs were generally higher than those for Ph.D.'s in academic jobs.

6. Minorities with science and engineering Ph.D.'s were more likely to be selected for academic administrative positions by comparison with their non-science counterparts.

7. Finally, minorities were appointed to only 7% of the executive/administrative/management positions in higher education with blacks representing about 4%.

Role models, mentors, and sponsors, according to researcher Jeanne J. Speizer, are concepts whose time has come. Professionals must have had one, been one, or be seeking one if they are to advance in their careers. Articles in the popular media and in professional journals continually declare, as did a recent title in the Harvard Business Review, "Everyone Who Makes It Has A Mentor." Within the academic profession, mentorship is widely regarded as an important factor in the development and eventual success of junior professionals. It has a history of developing in higher education as an informal teacher-student relationship which expands into post-graduate activities and frequently into the career development of a young scholar. Typically, a senior professor is introduced to a beginning graduate student on referral from an academic acquaintance who believes the senior professor and beginning graduate student share similar academic interests. The senior professor counsels, teaches, and involves the graduate student in his research/creative activities. The relationship improves and the senior professor serves as a role model, provides increased academic advice, eventually shares research commitments as equal partners and finally recommends his mentee to a variety of opportunities in gaining access to the profession.

It is clear that the mentorship system works and is important to the academic profession. The system, for the best results, must have good, intellectually sound senior members. These persons must be devoted to the life of learning, teaching, and sharing. Their lives should be marked by some continuing contribution to human understanding and the development of new knowledge. It is necessary that senior professors be recognized scholars in the sense that they have a firm grasp of the professional development process as well as a secure knowledge of their chosen specialization. It is absolutely necessary that senior professors have some interest, ability and method or artistry to communicate their learning and enthusiasm for their chosen specialization to both junior scholars and potential scholars.

Similarly, in the mentorship process, the profession must have junior members who are in the process of becoming scholars. Junior professionals are those who are learning to think, to read, to write and otherwise express themselves clearly in a variety of academic settings — classroom, committee, research, etc. This may seem to be something less than a demanding criterion, but in fact, it is the crucial test for mentor selection and related professional development.

The mentor system, at best, is a network or linkage system that may start in the lower public school grades and extend over the entire professional life of a mentee. The system has proven to be valuable in the past and has great potential for providing a variety of professional opportunities for minorities in the academic profession. It certainly has promise in identifying the millions of capable black scholars that will be needed to meet the challenges of the 1990's and beyond.

By any measure, if black administrators are to be successful in facilitating "Professional Mobility Causation . . ." they must have access to computer technology in developing a much needed data base on the characteristics of black professionals. This information must be liberally shared and stored for quick retrieval by a variety of information systems — academic, news, business, industry, etc.

In sum, current data suggest that Black Studies and black administrators have been effective in properly gauging "the patterns of interaction" in higher educational institutions. Blacks are in both administrative and scholarly positions in the higher education framework. Yet, in relative terms, we have not improved significantly our "administrative clout" or numbers in the predominantly white academic power structure. Given the fact that for the past several years institutions of higher education have been the principal employers of 54% of the Ph.D.'s with science or engineering degrees and 84% of the humanities doctorates and at the same time these institutions are engaged in what they call "contraction," "steady-state," and "economic reorganization," the future does not look normally fruitful for black upward mobility. The challenge, therefore, is that we develop confidence in one another, a collective posture of organizational force, and an action program which demands that higher education adequately meet its responsibility of protecting those who have least benefited from the American promise of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

THE ROLE OF BLACK STUDIES IN UPWARD MOBILITY

Johnnella E. Butler

Fifty years ago, DuBois made an observation in his book, *The Education of Black People*, that sadly holds true even today. He said, "We have lost something, brothers, wandering in strange lands. We have lost our ideals." At the root of this loss is the tension between the "two warring ideals" that DuBois so eloquently explicated in *The Souls of Black Folk*, that of being Negro, of African descent, and American:

> Afro-American scholars have until most recently given short shrift to DuBois' early concept and as a result have found themselves aligned with one of two positions mirroring the two warring ideals: a) the advocacy of mainstreaming the Afro-American experience, soft-pedalling or denying any cultural difference and therefore any cultural oppression; and b) advocacy of a field of study based on the existence of an Afro-American culture and a Black sensibility, with the goal of harmonizing the two warring ideals, freeing colonized information, liberating the Afro-American sensibility, and positing an educational theory and practice reflective on the freeing of cultural and ethnic variations within American society. The resolution of this adventure with Western culture, of these two warring ideals, is crucial to the well-being of the cultural, social, political and economic future of Afro-Americans. There are indeed forces outside the Black community that strongly contribute to its demise; however, the exacerbation of the spirit, of the self-confidence that the unrecognized and unresolved two-warring ideals perpetrate, mitigates against the proper perception of those outside forces and of Black people themselves by themselves.
>
> (Butler, *Black Studies: Pedagogy and Revolution*, 1981)

Hence, we find outselves this weekend gathering to figure out whether or not we can serve two masters--how we can survive and flourish within the American system of higher education and still be true to ourselves. In accepting the challenge to constantly work knowing that what we do affects all Afro-Americans, we are involved in a complexity of identity and reality that threatens not only our flourishing but our very existence. We are part of a society that we all know is diametrically opposed to human existence and human action in its truest and fullest sense. In fact, it is deadly to humanity physically, emotionally, and psychologically. We have a culture--our Afro-American culture--that has values, a world-view, and a life-style that simultaneously reflects that deadly larger American experience and the life spring of humanity that is rooted in our descent from African traditional society. Black Studies should be *revered*, *carefully approached*, *lovingly developed*, for it must become one of the central and dynamic well-springs of analysis of our cultural, political, social and economic reality, past, present, and future, and one of the central, dynamic maturing forces for the vigilant, profound transferral and explication of our reality to black people through academic, cultural, political, social, and economic channels. It must be the theory-building and action-motivating resource for black people to survive and flourish in America, and, very truthfully, it must lend the human insight and the ideals that are so lacking in American society today, for we have them in the truthful depiction of the American reality that our culture and experience holds. Thus, Black Studies is vital not only for Afro-Americans, but also for the educational content and process for all.

I could go on with a blueprint for the revolution in education and ultimately society that we have within our grasp to bring about. That is not my task today. However, I want to exhort you and remind you to remember that institutions are what we must establish and leave for our posterity. We must have our own institutions obviously within our own communities and we must establish our institutions within the very heart of the beast of America, that exaggeration of the West. Mary McLeod Bethune and C. G. Woodson, among others, left us the example of establishing institutions. DuBois left us a profound and still applicable theory to build upon and to inspire the creation of new theory. The vineyard has been laid out by such forebearers as they. We are the workers, and we cannot be chickens or turkeys: we must be eagles that soar to new heights or pigs that sacrifice the ham.

Dr. Bass asked me to comment specifically as a female executive in our discussion of the role of Black Studies in facilitating upward mobility. Although one of my academic pursuits is carefully identifying academic points of convergence between Black Studies and Women's Studies, I cannot speak only from the viewpoint of the female executive. There are indeed problems arising from my being a woman in a male-dominated field of study in the male-dominated higher educational system--and being at a women's college does not change that reality much. However, the yoke of racism and ethnocentrism is on both sexes and Black Studies must be about making a firm foundation institutionally and philosophically based on what black people--that is, people of African descent--ought to be about on black and white campuses. It is my observation and belief that problems of sexism and acceptance, by black people, ourselves, of the role of Black Studies as a field of study and as a cultural and educational catalyst is of primary urgency. In considering this recognition and acceptance in regard to upward mobility, the contradiction of being Afro-American and American becomes quite clear. Simply put, to pursue the body of knowledge in the field of Black Studies and to implement the result of that study and analysis places one in direct opposition to the tenets of the American dream upon which upward mobility is based. Most obviously and basically, we become opposed to the individualism that effects mobility. Once this individualism is embraced, we become, quite effectively, in the eyes of those who do not support affirmative action, angry, vicious crabs-in-a-basket.

Many of us, some naively, others well-aware, as pioneers in the field of Black Studies, thought little about upward mobility, sought and fought to establish our centers, programs, and departments in the heart of the beast of liberal arts curricula because we believed we were being responsible. Some of us are still around despite the ravages of the beast; however, most of us have bit the dust--programs and departments have been discontinued while some are virtually indistinguishable from traditional departments and disciplines; well-prepared black scholars in various disciplines in the field are denied tenure by committees composed of all white colleagues, as well as by committees composed of blacks and whites; not-so-well prepared black scholars receive tenure for political reasons; and the scholars that most resemble the traditional single discipline-oriented white scholar survive quite well. This condition exists for many reasons, all of which are related to a central reality: very few black scholars and administrators had the luxury, or perhaps have had the desire to see Black Studies as the focal point of our reality at white campuses. Thus, Black Studies is most frequently viewed as a bothersome appendage or a good idea but too complex and dangerous. It does not take much to realize why this is so. There are still many in our Afro-American population who are ignorant of the fact that how we live, value, and strive amounts to a culture. There are still too many of us who doubt that we really are an oppressed people who accept completely the American dream, and in academia that means the definitions of ourselves, our history, our literature according to the liberal arts tradition. It is difficult to see that sometimes when we think we are most radical that we are feeling radical simply because we have scaled a height we have not had access to before, but not because we have challenged our thinking or thought differently.

And so we struggle with English departments that at best tolerate our courses; with American Studies programs that at best append our courses and continue to teach and talk about us as Caliban in the garden; with Women's Studies programs and departments that not only threaten our budgets but also often and in their scholarship deny and distort us despite the obvious healthy possibilities for academic and political coalescence; with alums and boards of trustees that at best act as if Black Studies is faddish; with racially hostile white administrators and faculty, who hide behind the cloak of the "liberal arts tradition;" with apathetic white and black administrators and faculty; with misguided black students and parents who think that if you are in Black Studies you must not have been able to make it in a "real" department.

Black Studies has a mission to sort out the truth, to decolonize information, and, in light of the complexity of the human experience, to do so in an interdisciplinary fashion with a pedagogy that leads the student to make sense of his/her world. Thus, it becomes a field that challenges the liberal arts tradition, and that speaks to the history of all people. This sounds simple, but what I have just described, we all know to be revolutionary. It should decolonize our minds as well as that of our oppressor; it should necessitate that we function on the highest human level--to think creatively; it should challenge the status quo in its content and method.

And now, you must be thinking--how can there be mobility?

The bottom line of mobility for Black Studies is maintenance of and support for the department or program. (Whether an institution has a department or program is largely dependent upon institutional politics, although it is safe to say that departments are generally more stable and lasting.) Scholarship must be presented as what it is--on the vanguard of a field. Next, reappointment, promotion, and tenure depend mainly on the Black Studies component of the process defining the criteria, in line, as much as possible, with institutional criteria, however, clearly and precisely differing where necessary. (For example, in regard to the nature of interdisciplinary fields and in regard to Black Studies as academics being clearly related to the cultural, social, and political realities on campus, Black Studies faculty should be encouraged to seek a balance between being a Black Studies professor and a black professor. The role of black professor should be highly valued by the university as offering guidelines in its taking administrative and scholarly responsibility for meeting the challenge of providing a multicultural academic and social environment with the proper supports for students of the dominant culture as well as students of the so-called minority cultures.) They also depend on intradepartmental colleagial support as well as interdepartmental support in the person of supportive tenured faculty.

Maintenance of the department, reappointment, promotion, and tenure all depend on FTE's and, although the visible student support of the early years is gone, students--both black and white--can be led to see that the department or program has something unique in its offerings. To do so, courses and departmental thrust must clearly relate the black experience to the overall college experience, American experience, and world experience. A pedagogy that demands that the student think and be active with the material must become the hallmark of the field.

There are other political/academic ways to make Black Studies central to the college curriculum, and they all are necessary to achieve upward mobility. Here I simply wanted to give an idea of the turf in order to depict the innate difficulty between Black Studies which challenges the status quo, and upward mobility, which maintains the status quo. But obviously, upward mobility can be achieved, hopefully, while challenging the status quo. It is a dangerous game and mentoring is necessary. A sympathetic, senior white colleague, well thought of in the community, who supports the department and individuals, and who is discrete, is most helpful. Black senior faculty are a rare species; however, they can be often helpful if they are not anti-Black Studies, or entrenched in the norms of Western scholarship. And, they do not have to be on the same campus. Black faculty and administrators who know the ropes, who are supportive, can be most helpful. Helpful how? In aiding one to choose which battles to fight and how best to fight them; in helping to combat the loneliness and despair that black faculty experience as a constant enemy to writing and teaching well; in being department chairpersons who keep before the department a clarity of its perceptions and how it is being perceived, and who clarify the philosophy and direction and priorities of their particular departments in order to minimize interdepartment misunderstandings--all are examples of the kind of mentors needed.

The black woman in a department often suffers from the chauvinism of her black male colleagues--particularly so if she is a chair--and quickly has to prove that she means what she says to avoid running the risk of being ineffective, regarded as "not having much sense," not to be taken seriously--all based on no foundation of truth. Often she is regarded by students as a big sister or mother figure. This student perception should be molded to become one of mentor and role model. It is a role that is necessary but one whose limits must be clear so that the faculty is not overwhelmed and the university's responsibilities are not obscured. Black women can provide positive role models in a male-dominated field as chair, professor, whatever. Often, due to the rampant chauvinism in our society, they are seen as less threatening by white male colleagues who are most frequently in charge. This perception, if clearly understood, can be turned to the advantage of promoting the field and the department or program. With white women colleagues, faculty and administrators must guard against being equated with them, thereby having racial and cultural issues ignored or distorted.

In conclusion, it is not Black Studies that has a role in upward mobility. Black people--professors, students, alums, parents--and how they view Black Studies provide the role. Thus, how vital the field of Black Studies is to the black people at white institutions and how they translate that vitality to the institution, politically and academically, becomes paramount. The external (outside the race) problems confronting upward mobility and Black Studies are the liberal arts tradition, the racism and hostility that comes in many guises from faculty, students, and administrators, academic KKKs to those that argue that they are color blind. The internal (within the race) problems confronting upward mobility are within and without the department--self-negation, acceptance of a tradition of scholarship that is tantamount to integration which, as it has been practiced, negates and despises our reality.

Most academicians assume that Black Studies lends little, if any, possibility for upward mobility. Understanding the turf, and understanding that the desired mobility must, first and foremost, allow one to be able to continue the challenge to the status quo, we must realize that mobility is possible with sincere mutual support, and scholarship in the DuBois tradition. This means failures and successes in achieving the vestiges of mobility. Each tenure struggle, whether successful or not, must be waged on the values and criteria that ultimately must define Black Studies in the university. As a rule, Black Studies does not provide for upward mobility if it is genuinely pursued. It simply goes against the grain of academia. For Harry Edwards, Ishmael Reed, and other less well-known professors who fared ill at tenure-time, upward mobility meant an identity with their people--that their lives progressed along with their people. This is not what is taking place now, for all too often we in Black Studies are operating on personal terms--individuals at the expense of the people--and on the terms of the traditional university. It is a contradiction to talk about traditional disciplines in Black Studies, to approach Black Studies in the context of traditional disciplines. One cannot generally pursue Black Studies and have upward mobility, for inevitably there is a conflict with those in power.

What then do we mean by upward mobility? If we mean individual progress within the criteria of the white professors, then such progress is usually a fraud and renders a disservice to black people, to truthful scholarship and to noble goals in academia. If, on the other hand, we mean--and this is what we should mean from the black perspective--that the individual does not divorce himself/herself from the group, then his/her everyday behavior must be a religious one, a zealous one, a constant challenging of the traditions and norms of white scholarship and administration. This in itself will not provide the individual with upward mobility except in rare cases like at Smith, and a few other schools. We must, from our very posture, attitude, and commitment, get into motion upward mobility for the larger group.

What I am arguing is that we must be prepared as individuals to run the risks and sacrifice some perquisites in the interest of the larger group's mobility. When we lose battles for tenure and promotion, if lost because we were pursuing Black Studies, we have nonetheless contributed in an unseen and unsung manner to the upward mobility of the group. Such people should be applauded and cared for and should be given every available assistance by those who have "made it," so to speak. These are genuine warriors in the struggle for upward mobility for black people. Unfortunately, all too often, they are viewed by those who have "made it" as "controversial," "too risky," as if they should be suspect first, and not the historically racist institutions and systems. I see this question simply not in personal terms. To see it so is a contradiction to the definition and purpose of Black Studies.

There is a growing cadre of mendacious and mendicant individuals within Black Studies who, to the ordinary individual, has achieved upward mobility of the highest order. But, as it is in the majority of cases, one will find that the reason for their psychological and mental porcinity is that they are more concerned with the trappings of traditional upward mobility than with the forward progress of their natural constituents. If it is of this group we are thinking of when we are talking about upward mobility in Black Studies, then I, for one, will have nothing to do with it. If, however, we mean upward mobility as characterized by the lives of such as DuBois, Luther P. Jackson, Bethune, and Woodson, who may not have appeared to have achieved upward mobility, but who, even today, are invoked by the porcine ones, then I am sustained, and I hope that you will be sustained by remembering that there are a mere few amongst us who strive and struggle in this tradition of the individuals I have just mentioned.

I am further relieved to see that Black Studies was included in a conference entitled "Black Administrators at White Campuses." It suggests that perhaps we are moving toward recognizing not only the important relationship between Black Studies and black administrators but also Black Studies and black people.

IMPACT OF BLACK MOBILITY IN HIGHER EDUCATION: THE ROLE OF BLACK STUDIES

James O. McDowelle and William M. Harris

Introduction

American universities have a tradition of responding to dominant issues of social consequence. In the 1950's and 1960's major social issues centered about environmental affairs, Afro-American civil rights, women's equality, and community control of public education systems. University curricula were revised to establish environmental sciences departments (combining geology, geography, etc.); Negro history and related social science formed Black Studies; sex and human relations courses constructed women's studies; and schools of education incorporated citizen participation, conflict resolution, and learning theories to emphasize the new challenge.

Nowhere perhaps was the challenge to traditional college curricula more pronounced than in the challenges brought by African-Americans. The cries for relevance and inclusion by a group traditionally excluded from objective study and reporting were to affect the entire community of higher education. The demand for relevance was seated in a belief that courses and majors ignored or distorted the black experience in both teaching and research. Equally fundamental were the challenges to wholesale exclusion of the full investigation and reporting of African people in this country. The conflict that arose was real and heavily debated by all races, every level of academic faculty and administration.

Black Studies is at least as old as the historical black colleges, slightly more than 120 years. These institutions were specifically established to prepare scholars and professionals to provide leadership in the black community. The African experience in the western hemisphere was approached in a comprehensive, thorough manner. Significantly,this tradition survives in these institutions of higher education on more than 100 campuses, mostly in the south and southwest.

Writing in 1970,Nathan Wright, Jr. defined Black Studies from two perspectives.

> Black Studies, as projected by black students and black teachers, have two basic meanings. By black or Afro-American studies is meant the classical disciplines of black anthropology, black history, black economics, black politics, and the like.... The separate or discrete emphasis is and will remain necessary in order to overcome the overwhelming influence of a culture which daily denies, both in its etiquette and rhetoric, the realities of black life throughout the nation.... When black students call for black studies they are speaking on two levels which must be understood. They have been calling for the new courses which are now being offered. Perhaps more important, however, they are using an euphemism for

> meeting the hardcore human-development needs of those who reside in the center-city environment. Black students realize that somehow their potential is not either recognized or developed so that it may come to flower.[1]

In this conceptual context, five factors have been presented as rationale for Black Studies as a legitimate academic enterprise.[2]

> 1. The first and most obvious rationale... lies in the cultural differences of blacks and whites in America due to vastly different life-styles and history.
>
> 2. Also justifying...are the...institutional neglect, white racism, historical omission and bias, and systematic miseducation by an oppressive, exploitative system controlled by whites.
>
> 3. The third...is to investigate, document and report the history of culture of black Americans both in the United States and internationally.
>
> 4. Fourth, there needs to be a vehicle which provides a basis for scholarly study and research.
>
> 5. Fifth, Black Studies must exist to demonstrate the consequences of racism, to examine the social and economic structure of the hypocrisy of the constitutional system of the United States and to free blacks of the white-generated inhuman stereotypes.

With these expectations Black Studies was initiated at the majority white institutions of higher education in the late 1960's. At Harvard and Yale, Antioch and Cornell, and Washington State University a variety of organizational arrangements were struck to establish Black Studies as a new academic enterprise. With black student advocacy and black faculty support this field of study was instituted. With white faculty resistance and white administrative rejection, this field of study was realized. Simply the bringing of Black Studies to majority white institutions was a result of struggle and counterstruggle. Clothed in protest and demand for immediate implementation and legitimacy by the black community of students, scholars, and laypersons, Black Studies eventually was organizationally accepted by white instructors and administrators with many questions and much hesitancy.

A brief, but important, departure is appropriate. When reviewing black participation in education, it is useful to recall the value blacks traditionally hold for education. Blacks made the attainment of education a priority even during slavery. Defying laws prohibiting slaves learning to read and write, African Americans persisted.[3] Immediately following the world's most cruel experience of human exploitation, American slavery, blacks moved to serve further educational opportunity. The historical black colleges were established to provide higher education to the new legally freed slave.[4] The historic efforts of these institutions reflect excellence respecting very modest resources and hostility from the white public sector. Simply, these colleges are responsible for the majority of blacks currently in community leadership positions and scholarly productivity in the nation.

Repeatedly blacks indicate the value of education in excess of economic development, housing, health, and similar issues.[5] When compared with income and political status, educational attainment among blacks does not equate that of whites favorably. Given equal educational attainment levels, whites have greater income potential and superior political influence. Nevertheless, blacks view education as the major force influencing social gain in the United States.

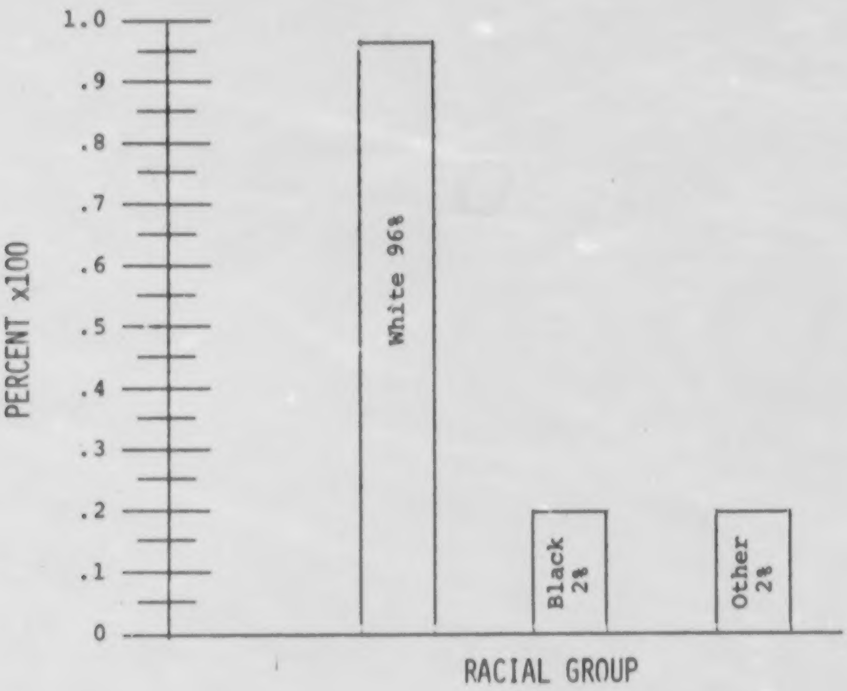
The purpose of this paper is to discuss the opportunity of Black Studies to provide for the participation of additional black faculty on predominantly white campuses, and to review management systems operating the administration of these programs in academic settings.[6] The history and future projections of the health of Black Studies are beyond the scope of this presentation. However, indeed, recent developments in Black Studies in majority white colleges justify a thorough investigation independent of this analysis.

Faculty Roles

Generally, three activities comprise roles for faculty members in higher education. These include teaching, research, and professional service. Teaching is generally that group of activities where faculty relate to students in lecture, seminar, or tutorial sessions to conduct exercises resulting usually in credit hours to the student. Research consists of investigation, analysis, and reporting of issues, events, and relationships that complement or add anew to a body of knowledge. Service is the general application of talents to the college, professional organizations, and extra-university community as a supplement to teaching and research. There exists almost no consensus among colleges as to the expected level of effort a faculty member must give to each of these areas. The sum of all these efforts makes up faculty loads.[7]

Entering this stage of traditional expectations of faculty, Black Studies provided the first major opportunity for desegregation of African American faculty in predominantly white institutions. Blacks comprise slightly more than two percent of university faculty in the nation (see Table 1). Of course, this percentage is still lower for African Americans teaching in predominantly white institutions. This modest presence has contributed to special problems for black faculty in the area of teaching.

Table 1: Racial Distribution of College Faculty in U.S.[8]



In an unpublished, preliminary report for the National Council for Black Studies, Daniel found teaching loads for Black Studies faculty were appropriately 17 students per faculty member.[9]

These faculty members have argued their teaching effectiveness has been constrained by a high demand of students, lack of support from white colleagues and institutional requirements for research. Black faculty present the case that black students demand and require substantial advising and tutoring support in order to perform competitively. When faculty respond to the need, preparation time and energy are lost to teaching. Black faculty also posit the idea that white faculty and counselors intentionally encourage black students to avoid majoring and taking courses in Black Studies. Conflict results between the two faculty camps about role and ethical posture. Finally, black faculty are relatively newcomers to white colleges. Black Studies programs brought the first measurable number of African Americans to these campuses. Being junior faculty, the pressure to attract sponsored research was real. As a consequence, the time and energy required to develop a case for tenure through research and reporting further handicapped the black faculty member's teaching efforts.

Research

Recalling the mission of Black Studies to conduct research, it is valuable to comment on that activity. Black Studies has traditionally seen research as a means to promote scholarship and affect decisions influencing life in the black community. The primary role of faculty in this area was to direct the research with community cooperation and assistance.

The need for race-specific research has been supported.[10] Still Black Studies faculty have challenged the relevance and conclusions of race-specific research conducted and reported by whites.[11] Setting forth the idea that white scholars are racist and too frequently view blacks from a reference frame of "deviant," black scholars argue the justification of research in Black Studies.

A major focus of research by Black Studies faculty was that of public policy investigation with a goal of influencing quality of life decisions affecting African Americans. This orientation caused white scholars to question the objectivity of the studies produced by black faculty. This posture also brought about a more direct involvement in research of lay and community individuals. Participant observation, oral histories, and policies studies became more evident in the literature and classroom.

While it is the case that Black Studies faculty show a commitment and productivity in the area of research,[12] support has been modest. This situation is concurrent with the experience of historical black colleges. The intent of this discussion is not to discuss in detail the numerous barriers to Black Studies research and publication but it is significant to claim the importance the academic scholars in the area lay to research.

Community Service

Community service in Black Studies has generally meant two activities. First it has been the traditional commitment to departmental and other institutional committees, professional organization involvements, and student governance guidance. Many black faculty members have been concerned that white administrators have exploited them to resolve all problems related to blacks, faculty and students, in the environment. They contest this dual responsibility with the expectation for high quality teaching and superior research.

A more difficult to justify area of Black Studies faculty participation in community service has been the role of advocate in social and political affairs affecting the African American community. Informed and impressed about the level of oppression of blacks, Black Studies faculty have often challenged these conditions by being partisan operatives for the black poor.

Decision makers and white scholars alike have called to issue this role. In some instances, e.g., the University of Pittsburgh, Black Studies departments have included the word community in their unit identification.

Management Systems

Black Studies has been present in traditionally black institutions since the establishment of black colleges and universities.[13] Black Studies, as taught in black schools, was incorporated into the regular curriculum as a distinct and necessary part of the mainstream educational program. During 1968, the formation of Black Studies programs became a highly visible issue in predominantly white colleges and universities. It was here that the management and organizational systems for implementing the Black Studies program became a major source of controversy.

Two major problems were faced by black administrators in designing Black Studies programs. They were (1) the hostility of white administrators and (2) the non-traditional aspect of Black Studies. The hostility of white administrators was embodied in allegations of academic illegitimacy which were lodged against Black Studies programs. The non-traditional aspect of Black Studies was embodied in demands not only for traditional academic pursuits but also for community outreach and organization in the non-academic black community.

The refusal to acknowledge the legitimacy of Black Studies created several corollary problems for Black Studies administrators. These problems were as follows:

(1) Resistance to funding Black Studies at even minimal subsistence levels;

(2) Career difficulties encountered by professors who elected to do full-time teaching and research in Black Studies; and

(3) Application of traditional evaluation standards and methods to non-traditional Black Studies programs.

The problems cited in the preceding sections provide some indication of the context in which organizational and management decisions involving Black Studies are made. The purpose of the following sections is to analyze the impact of these problems in the specific management areas of (1) funding, (2) staffing, and (3) organizational patterns.

Funding

Funding has been and continues to be a serious obstacle for the survival of Black Studies programs. Blake and Hobbs cogently describe the "Catch 22" situation which traps Black Studies programs. In order to be successful the programs require adequate funding; but to obtain adequate funding the programs must first demonstrate they are successful. For this reason the National Council of Black Studies has recommended that Black Studies programs be provided with autonomous budgets.[14] This recommendation was at least partially based on the premise that struggling programs could not rely upon receiving sustenance from sources who doubted their academic and cultural validity. In an analysis of the Black Studies programs at 29 American colleges and universities, 76% were funded by hard money (funds supplied by the institution as a regular line item budget entity). Fourteen percent depended upon federal funding, primarily in the form of grants, and 10% were dependent upon grants from private sources.[15] The authors of the study pointed out that hard money was not synonymous with permanence for Black Studies:

> ...Hard money support did not provide stability that might have been expected because most of the programs did not hold an assured status in the curricular organization of

> the institution where they were located.[16]

The extent to which newly created Black Studies would require institutional financial support was aptly delineated by one Black Studies administrator. He called not only for adeqaute funding but stated Black Studies would initially require special funding assistance during the inception of the program. Among those areas where extra funding would be necessary were faculty development, organization cooperation, course development, visiting lecturer support, student enrichment and workstudy. He cited the "infancy of the discipline" and the "costly racist practices over time" that had resulted in a "demented view of black culture, life and history" as justifications for the differential funding of Black Studies. He concluded the rationale for extra financing of Black Studies in the following manner:

> ...both prudence and justice would demand differential financing patterns in favor of Afro-American Studies in order to achieve a balance with existing departments.[17]

Clearly, Black Studies programs must eventually become both self-sufficient and gain academic respectability to survive. If not, during periods of retrenchment hard-pressed colleges and universities will label the programs as marginal. Thereafter, if not abolished entirely, the programs will exist in such a state as to reflect no credit upon either the black community or the academic institution.

Staffing

In a survey of Black Studies programs in predominantly white institutions it was discovered that in most programs faculty were without academic rank and tenure.[18] Here again was evidence of the failure to accord Black Studies the academic respectability conferred on similar academic disciplines. Black administrators once again cited autonomy as a panacea. It was believed that if the power to grant rank and tenure resided within the Black Studies organizational unit, faculty could be convinced of the viability of a career in Black Studies, and outstanding faculty could be recruited.

In practice, there were several different staffing patterns in programs subsumed under the rubric of Black Studies. The staffing pattern most frequently found was the assignment of faculty specifically and exclusively to Black Studies--without academic rank and tenure. Another pattern, frequently used, but not as often as the exclusive assignment without rank, was the joint appointment. Under these terms of employment tenure was usually obtained through the cooperating department, not the Black Studies department. The third staffing pattern identified found tenure and academic rank the prerogative of the Black Studies program--this pattern was the least frequently employed.[19]

Before the coming of Black Studies programs, a former Chancellor of the University of Pittsburgh presciently predicted the problems experienced by faculty housed in Black Studies programs without staffing autonomy. He pointed out the persisting problems caused by the lack of criteria for promotion and the uneven application of standards for promotion in the rare instances in which they did exist. He concluded that some administrative officer had to be responsible for the professional development of faculty within a discipline over a period of years. This was necessary to develop "balanced staffs in broad areas." He concluded his recommendation in the following manner:

> Definite administrative responsibility is needed to ensure that (1) a balance exists within the staff, (2) one person complements another and is rewarded in terms of that complementary relationship as well as on the basis of absolute standards for individual performance, and (3) a suitable program of personnel development is operative for the individual from the time he begins as a young member of the faculty until

> he has reached a level of professional maturity when little further assistance is required.[20]

Although Black Studies did not exist when Litchfield made this personnel policy analysis, the application to staff policy in Black Studies is appropriate. Unless recognition of the difficulty in achieving career advancement in Black Studies is acknowledged, recruitment of top-level faculty will be difficult, and programs will suffer as a result.

Organizational Models

There was wide agreement in the literature that the independent department constituted the theoretical ideal as an organizational model for Black Studies. In practice, there are many diverse organizational modes for Black Studies. Among those most frequently employed are the institute and the center. A third, less frequently found organization is the semi-autonomous school, which carries the same prerogatives available to similar units within the college system. The best known example of this is the Malcolm X Jr. College in Chicago.[21] Institutes and centers are generally non-autonomous and interdisciplinary.[22] There are also systems in which many ethnic studies programs (Hispanic, Chinese, Indian, Black) are grouped under one program designated as minority studies. Proponents of this type of program contend that the banding together of minority programs assists in contests for funds. Opponents of this organizational pattern claim such a model lacks cohesion and dilutes the quality of the individual programs.[23]

Almost all organizational models contained many of the same components. The differentiation between institutes and centers was sometimes nothing more than nomenclature. The difference between these organizational patterns and the traditional department model was more substantial. Here the issue was the amount of independence accorded the management unit.

Many justifications were advanced for the superiority of the independent department organizational model. Smith stated seven advantages of the department. They were listed as follows:

1. The department is traditionally the most permanent structure in the University environment;
2. The department structure facilitates the acquisition of financial support;
3. Power to hire and fire resides in the departmental management;
4. The department can develop its own curriculum;
5. The department can award degrees;
6. The departmental structure can aid in obtaining cooperation from other departments; and
7. The departmental management can confer faculty rank and tenure.[24]

Very little opposition to the department as an organizational model could be found in the literature. The department has occasionally been disparaged on financial grounds. It has been argued that in a time of tight money on university campuses it may be difficult to obtain the initial funding to establish a department. More modest organizational arrangements are then suggested as an option because of fiscal constraints.[25]

The three primary components of Black Studies programs are basically the same components found in traditional departments: (1) teaching, (2) research, and (3) service. The major differences between Black Studies programs and traditional departments are the thrust and intent of the academic components and the social change aspect of the service component. Addressing the difference in academic perspective, one writer contended Black Studies would generate fear amongst scholars of other disciplines:

> Black Studies will also be feared because its scholarship, if good, will so often attack or alter or revise much of what now exists about American History, culture and arts and letters.[26]

There was agreement in the literature that supportive services should not be a component of Black Studies. The types of personnel required for counseling, career assistance, academic advising, etc. were different from those required for Black Studies. The objectives of the academic unit are also different from those of the student services unit. Consequently, there is no organizational rationale for placing these two separate functions in the same managerial unit.[27]

The curriculum content of Black Studies programs varied, independent of any organizational model. Programs ranged from training in community organization to graduate work in the humanities, but enhancing the student's knowledge of the black experience is a focus of most Black Studies curricula.[28] Areas of study included in the Black Studies curriculum are courses about Africa, art and humanities, civics, economics, education, Pan-Africanism, community related courses, Blacks and the Constitution, history, language, law and music.[29]

Because of the nature of the obstacles to the institution of Black Studies programs, the discussion of the managerial mode for the program must transcend organizational effectiveness issues. Black Studies administrators must always be aware of the challenges to their respectability as legitimate academic programs; whatever the managerial advantages of the department, its importance as a symbol of academic respectability can never be minimized. Russell accurately described this basic argument:

> For many advocates of this model [Department], the most genuine argument for the independent department model is the perception that such an organizational pattern promotes and signifies that the college or university recognizes Afro-American Studies as a legitimate academic discipline that deserves the same rights and privileges as any other academic department.[30]

Conclusion

An outgrowth of the Civil Rights Movement was the creation of Black Studies Programs on majority white campuses in the late 1960's. Sparked by student demand and black faculty support, the establishment of these academic programs generated much dynamic energy.

Black Studies provided a real opportunity for the desegregation of predominantly white college faculties. Met with hostility and challenge, these newcomers to the academic community sought to mainstream themselves through acceptable teaching, research and service. While the percentage of black faculty members in higher education has changed only modestly since 1968, their presence has been felt in roles of advocacy for students and lay community interests.

Black Studies experienced several organizational typologies in the operation of programs or departments. The issues of administrative arrangement include degree of departmental autonomy, funding sources, and faculty appointment. The element of control over hiring, tenure and promotion has been a central contest between black and white university faculty and administrators. Most immediate has been the strong resistance of white college administrators (and faculty) to proposals permitting Black Studies a similar degree of independence as majority white departments.

FOOTNOTES

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AN EXAMINATION OF UPWARD BLACK MOBILITY IN DEVELOPMENT

J. Ernest Nunnally

Twelve years ago after graduating from college I had determined that I wanted to pursue a career in "educational administration." My knowledge of what I meant by educational administration was typically broad for a recent college graduate, and I simply meant that I wanted to work in higher education and that I wanted a "mentor" to teach me to do something specific. In 1969 I went to work for Dillard University in New Orleans as assistant to the business manager -- a position that covered a wide range of duties from personnel to purchasing. That same year the University named a new president who took a personal interest in my development. Early in 1970 I was summoned to the president's office and told of a new program being sponsored by the Ford Foundation to train a pool of black fundraising professionals working in historically black colleges. The program was to be run for two years with 12-15 interns in each twelve-month cycle being placed in major institutions throughout the country (mainly the East Coast) for an immersion in development activities. This discussion was the first time I had ever heard of development and fundraising, and the perception I had of the profession was something along the line of a vacuum cleaner salesman or ticket sales for a church bazaar.

In any event I was nominated (with some apprehension on my part) by the president and accepted by the Ford Foundation as an intern in the 1970-71 class. I was assigned to Dartmouth College and thus began my education and career in development. (After my internship at Dartmouth I returned to Dillard University as development officer, followed by a stint in banking in Chicago.)

It was clear to me from the first day of my internship at Dartmouth that my "vacuum cleaner salesman/church bazaar" notion of fundraising was not the case at all, but a highly sophisticated, well run, thoughtful and deliberate process of cultivation. What I learned at Dartmouth was to set me on a course of tremendous career satisfaction and enlightenment. For the purpose of this talk it now seems appropriate for me to define fully what we call development. By virtue of my experience I would define development as the identification and cultivation of prospects in order to bring financial resources to an institution. This process of identification, cultivation and gift getting in the United States takes place in the private sector in four main categories: 1) individuals, 2) bequests (also a form of individual giving), 3) corporations, and 4) foundations.

Statistically, according to Giving U.S.A., in 1981 "Americans contributed a record-shattering $53.62 billion to a cross-section of more than 300,000 charitable organizations...an increase of 12.3 percent from year earlier levels." The breakdown is as follows:

1981 Contributions (in billions)		Contributions as Percent of Total	
Individuals	$44.51	Individuals	83.0%
Bequests	$ 3.49	Bequests	6.5%
Corporations	$ 3.00	Corporations	5.6%
Foundations	$ 2.62	Foundations	4.9%

Of the charitable organizations receiving gifts, education claimed $7.49 billion or 14.0% of the total. Our approach to raising these funds at Dartmouth College is highly specialized. By this I mean there are staff directors for major gifts ($100,000 and above), leadership gifts ($5,000 to $100,000), bequests and estate planning, the alumni fund (annual unrestricted current use gifts), and foundations and corporations. With the numbers I have just discussed, you can see why fundraising must be sophisticated and, in some institutions, highly specialized as well.

About four years ago Dartmouth announced a five-year campaign to raise $160 million to support various college needs. The goal, which was subsequently increased to $185 million, was decided upon after careful planning and consideration of college needs. Once the goal was settled each division of development was assigned targets to help meet the larger campaign objective. For example, in my area of foundations and corporations a goal of $33 million was set and it is my responsibility to coordinate and oversee the successful achievement of that goal. It has been through this experience that I have developed a deepened awareness that people, whether they be corporate or foundation executives or someone with personal wealth, give to people as well as to institutions, ideas and ideals. This, in my opinion, is the first and foremost principle one must recognize if one is to be successful in development. In the 1980-81 academic year Dartmouth College raised a total of $42 million from private sources. In order to achieve this success there had to occur a number of varying interpersonal relationships in one-on-one and two-on-one situations in order to persuade these donors of the importance of Dartmouth College to them and their interests as well as the larger goals of society.

Knowing and recognizing this fact, I'm sure you are wondering how have I, as a black professional, fared in my role as a development officer for a major predominantly white institution? Before answering that question let me make a few comments about how I approached my job. When I returned to Dartmouth in 1977 I did so with full knowledge of the environment I would be working in and a very comfortable feeling about the people I would have as colleagues. My first objective then was to try to understand what was expected of me in my new position. Who are the people who will affect my ability to do my job? How do they perceive my duties versus my understanding? This act of raising questions brought me into contact with a number of people, faculty and administrators who have had a major impact on how I am able to carry out my responsibilities as director of foundation and corporate relations. It has been this group from whom I have sought and continue to seek advice in my role as one of the College's senior development officers.

Now, back to the question of being black in a predominantly white institution. The approach to my job I have just described has continued to be a part of my philosophy as a fundraiser. By this I mean, understand what is expected of you and you can build credibility from there. In the 5½ years I have been in development at Dartmouth I have not encountered a personal situation that I felt was perpetrated against me because of race, in my efforts to obtain funding for the College. While that has not been my experience, I am mindful that I work exclusively with foundations and corporations where such an occurrence is unlikely. Remember that earlier I commented that "people give to people," which means liberals usually find it easier to talk to liberals, conservatives to conservatives, and so on. When put into that context one becomes uninhibited about one's ability to become an effective fundraiser.

My experience to date convinces me that there is ample opportunity for those of us in predominantly white institutions to seek careers in development. Before coming to this conference I did an informal survey to determine the number of blacks working in key fundraising positions in predominantly white colleges and universities. I am sorry to report that my review indicates that the numbers total less than ten. The obvious answer (lack of opportunity) does not entirely account for this dearth of black professionals in these institutions. A lack of familiarity, on our part, with fundraising as a career option would also be a valid assumption. How, then, does one get into the field with no prior experience? One way is to seek internship opportunities of the nature the Ford Foundation ran twelve years ago. Currently, there are two organizations that I am aware of that are involved with such internships. They are the Association of Fundraising Officers, Inc. (AFRO,Inc.) and the Council for the Advancement and Support of Education (CASE). Both the AFRO,Inc. and CASE programs require that you be associated with a development office of an historically black college. Another and more practical way for a member of this group to gain experience in development is to apprentice yourself to the development office of your institution. Such apprenticeships, if they can be worked out, represent an effective on-the-job approach to acquiring experience in development. (Since this speech was given I have learned that the Lilly Endowment of Indianapolis has launched a series of training programs aimed at preparing minority professionals for fundraising careers.) Sales related or educational experience such as admissions work represent good preparation for development work.

So far I have mentioned or alluded to the value a mentor or advisors have played in my career. Often we discount the importance of such people in our development. In any organization you must realize that there are two rules of operation that will affect your success. First, the formal rules usually are defined by what is on your written job description and, second, informal rules that govern how the job in reality gets done. Finding a mentor who will help you understand your institution as well as guide your career can be of immeasurable value.

In the outline I was given I was also asked to talk about guidelines for supervising and I would like to state Nunnally's six guidelines to managing others now:

1. Understand that people are individuals, not institutions. They have needs and desires that go beyond institutional goals. Be sensitive.
2. Make it clear what is expected of them as an employee.
3. Be consistent in your decision-making, but be flexible.
4. Determine the strengths and weaknesses of the employee and try to develop employee accordingly.
5. Don't be afraid of accepting new ideas that did not originate on your desk.
6. Be prepared to give recognition as well as discipline.

In this talk I have highlighted a number of points I feel have affected my own career in development. What I have tried to cover throughout is the importance of interpersonal relationships as a necessary part of this process. In any situation one must be willing to take risks. Whether it is in trying out an idea on someone that seems silly to you or deciding to pursue a new career in development, you must be willing to make that first step. An adage that is often quoted in fundraising circles is the cliché "nothing ventured, nothing gained."

I hope that some of you will take the first step.

Thank you.

UNDERREPRESENTATION OF BLACK ADMINISTRATORS IN HIGHER EDUCATION OPERATING DEPARTMENTS

William R. Dickson

An examination of M.I.T.'s most recent affirmative action plan confirms that which you might suspect, an underrepresentation of black administrators, particularly in the operating departments. Why is this so?

First, the pool of blacks with engineering degrees, while increasing in absolute numbers, nevertheless remains relatively small particularly when viewed in conjunction with the overall demand.

Second, the ability of black administrators currently in non-operating departments to transfer into operating areas is generally stymied by lack of technical skills.

What needs to be done to change this situation?

The "Pool"

The roster of "self-made" persons is rapidly diminishing. Our technological society is such that even the most fundamental business practices are computerized and the day-to-day efforts of managers, administrators, and the like increasingly require a knowledge of practices and systems unheard of not too long ago and which, in general, cannot be acquired without formal education. In the operating areas, this is even more true in that technical expertise is more often than not a requirement as well as general managerial skills. For the head of a physical plant department, for example, a degree in engineering (civil, mechanical, or electrical) or architecture is generally required. In such a department where one oversees the design, construction, operation, and maintenance of physical facilities, such training is almost a necessity. Physical plant administrators, therefore, are in general either thoroughly experienced in the profession or, if "newcomers" to the field, hold degrees in appropriate technical areas. The point is, that today, it would be most difficult for any individual, black or white, to enter the physical plant field with any hope of upward mobility without either holding a degree in an appropriate field or having an unusual amount of related experience.

Unfortunately, available statistics do not present a very bright picture for increasing the number of blacks in physical plant or other operating areas of institutions of higher education.

- Black students currently receive only about 2% of all Bachelor degrees awarded in engineering annually in the United States. (See Table I).
- During the seventies, black Americans earned less than 1% of all Master's degrees conferred in engineering. (See Table II).

Even more alarming is a recent student publication from a local university with a large engineering school that noted that of the 276 black students who entered with the class of 1982 as freshmen, only 84 remained as seniors. The article further stated that in recent years, on average, only 5% of the black students who began as freshmen eventually graduated as compared with 52% of all others.

As for M.I.T., we find that since 1977 the percentage of registered black undergraduates, as compared with the total class population, has varied from a low of 5.2% in 1977 to a high of 7.8% in 1979. The figure for this coming year will be approximately 6%. While these figures are disappointing to us, they do compare favorably with a figure of 4.5% nationally.

It is obvious from the above statistics that although the enrollment of blacks in the engineering disciplines has increased numerically over the last decade, the absolute numbers fall far short of what is required to mainstream them into operational areas. If, over the near term, the pool of blacks with engineering backgrounds is not to significantly increase, then we must examine the potential for transfer of blacks from the non-technical disciplines into operating areas if we are to increase their overall mobility.

Table I. Bachelor's Engineering Degrees by Race and Year, 1970-79: All Institutions Combined[1]

Year	Total B.S. Degrees Awarded	Total B.S. Awarded Black Students	Per Cent Black of Total
1969-70	42,966*	378	.8
1970-71	43,167*	407	.9
1971-72	44,190	579	1.3
1972-73	43,429	657	1.5
1973-74	41,407	796	1.8
1974-75	38,210	734	2.0
1975-76	37,970	777	2.0
1976-77	40,095	844	2.1
1977-78	46,091	894	2.1
1978-79	52,598	901	2.0
Totals	430,123	6,967	1.6

*Figures for black students are understated because they do not include data from non-reporting institutions.
Source: The Engineering Manpower Commission.

Table II. Master's Engineering Degrees Conferred by Race and Year, 1970-79: All Institutions Combined[2]

Year	M.S. Degree Total	Number Awarded Black Students	Percent Black of Total
1969-70*	15,548	50	.3
1970-71*	16,383	47	.8
1971-72	17,356	78	.4
1972-73	17,152	104	.6
1973-74	15,885	158	.9
1974-75	15,773	141	.8
1975-76	16,506	154	.9
1976-77	16,551	147	.8
1977-78	16,182	202	1.2
1978-79	16,036	159	.9
Totals	163,372	1,240	.7

*Figures for black students are understated because they do not include data from non-reporting institutions.
Source: The Engineering Manpower Commission.

The "Hurdles"

In the past, many black administrators have been hired as a result of external pressures such as affirmative action programs mandated by the federal government; and in most institutions, these black administrators were usually hired as staff, rather than line officers. Generally speaking, line officers are managers with administrative authority and direct responsibility for personnel, budget, and programs related to major goal activities. They are part of the administrative hierarchy of the organization. Being part of this hierarchy is extremely significant because it means that power and authority in the organization are clearly defined. Persons of lower rank are subject to the decisions of line officers and both are keenly aware of the dimensions of their relationship.

On the other hand, staff officers occupy positions outside of the administrative hierarchy of the institution. That is to say, they are a part of the institution but their power and authority as administrators is based on the knowledge they possess about given issues and their ability to influence line officers to see the value of their recommendations. In most instances, staff officers are subordinate to the line officers; in others, they are neither subordinate nor superior in rank to line officers but function in consultant roles to them.[3]

By virtue of the above dichotomy, black administrators face an interesting dilemna. They are expected by both selected line officers in superior ranks as well as by that segment of the black community which is most affected by their activities to influence decision making; and yet their staff positions outside of the administrative structure means that they have little real power to do what is expected of them. The only real solution to this problem is one in which our institutions find qualified black administrators to fill line positions in the administrative hierarchy. In order to achieve this goal in operating areas, we will have to find ways to affect the transfer of black administrators from non-operating areas.

"Method of Transfer"

In order to accomplish this goal, we must identify blacks on our campuses who have not only the desire but also those certain basic attributes necessary to become effective line officers. It is the opinion of this writer that we must, therefore, identify individuals who

- Have taken advantage of relatively undefined jobs rather than those who have attributed lack of personal progress to same;
- Exhibit the initiative to fill observed needs without undue prompting;
- Can listen and sift out the important information with respect to what is going on around them;
- Have the patience to fairly listen to all sides of a question before making a decision;
- Can make a decision after once establishing the pertinent facts;
- Are willing to negotiate rather than dictate;
- Tend to consider the good of the organization as a whole rather than only their particular group; and who
- Respect individuals at every level.

Once having identified individuals who meet the above criteria, we must then attempt to develop any skills that they may lack through mentorship. In the end, there will be some successes and some failures, but overall, we should be able to make substantial progress in opening up opportunities for blacks in operating areas.

FOOTNOTES

[1] James E. Blackwell, Mainstreaming Outsiders -- The Production of Black Professionals (Bayside, New York: General Hall, 1981), p. 232.

[2] James E. Blackwell, Mainstreaming Outsiders -- The Production of Black Professionals (Bayside, New York: General Hall, 1981), p. 233.

[3] Smith, Calvert H.; Tata, Samba, "The Status of Black Administrators in Higher Educational Institutions" (1981), p. 9.

PART FOUR

ORGANIZATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO STRESS IN BLACK ADMINISTRATORS AT WHITE INSTITUTIONS

OVERVIEW

Isaac M. Colbert

As a current topic of psycho-social research and a popular item in the public media, stress is clearly regarded as a major contributor to executive dysfunction in organizations. While these scholarly and public-oriented discussions of the topic are especially timely, given the society's current period of economic, political and social turmoil, the fact of stress among managers and executives is anything but novel. Any manager who must cope with conflicting expectations from subordinates, superiors and other groups; who must be concerned about issues such as productivity, deadlines, and budget cuts; or who must responsibly implement company policies for equal opportunity or grievance procedures surely understands stress as a significant occupational hazard. And it is. However, too many discussions emphasize stress as a byproduct of the duties, functions, and responsibilities of the administrator's or manager's job. Stress also grows out of the frustration of personal and professinal development and out of issues of one's personal identity in the workplace and how issues of identity can be reconciled with organizational expectations. Not enough has been written on stress from this perspective, and virtually nothing has been said about contributory factors to stress in black administrators and managers.

The papers in this section focus on sources of stress peculiar to the black administrator who is in a predominantly white organization and suggest a variety of coping strategies. The paper by Robert Brown presents original research on the phenomenon of stress among black executives and managers. Brown's research represents a comparative analysis of black and white "supergrade" executives in the federal workforce. Results from this study document the extent and the intensity of job-related stress experienced by the black administrator as opposed to his or her white counterpart in the organization. It will come as no surprise that the black administrator, who is often isolated, who lacks social and professional support systems, and who often faces subtle forms of inequity and discrimination, reports the highest incidences of stress. Papaers by Pearl Gray and Charles Dickerson converge on particular stress-producing factors. Gray discusses ambiguity in power and authority relationships, how this factor is especially problematic for the black administrator, and gives a number of pointers on how to avoid or reduce this source of stress -- or how to make it work in your favor, rather than against you. Dickerson's lively discussion emphasizes the role of historical and cultural imperatives and the tensions and contradicitons they necessarily create in both the social and political structure of white organizations in which black administrators must tryto function. Drawing from African-American folklore, Dickerson presents an enlightening and humorous set of "axioms" for coping with stress. They are well worth remembering!

From the perspective of a practicing clinical psychologist, the paper by Howard Ramseur offers an important discussion of stress indicators that are particularly relevant to the black administrator. His lucid presentationof a wide variety of specific coping strategies will be valuable for every reader. Papers by Lawrence Dark and Freddie Groomes emphasize two aspects of stress that are rarely discussed but that are undoubtedly recognized by any black manager or administrator. Dark discusses the issues of competency and qualifications as potent contributors to black stress. The close and continuing scrutiny, the demands for competency in a wide variety of roles, often accompanied by ambiguous descriptions of duties and responsibilities, are among the stress factors that Dark writes about. Both Groomes and Dark discuss a number of so-called personality factors within the individual black administrator that can contribute to stress. Some of these factors express themselves in the form of unreasonably high performance expectations by black administrators of themselves, or of individual expectations with regard to visibility in the black community -- both on campus and off campus, or in generational conflicts between older black administrators and the new vanguard of young blacks. Both papers are thoughtful discussions, with useful prescriptions for coping, of some individual factors that can contribute to stress among black administrators.

Taken together, the papers in this section present a beginning effort towards more systematic consideration of organizationally induced stresses that have enormous impact on the productivity and, indeed, the very survivability of a black manager or administrator in a predominantly white organization. As black administrators, it is incumbent on each of us to ponder the information and specific advice offered here, to synthesize it within our individual conceptual frameworks, and to apply it to our professional and personal situations.

EXECUTIVE STRESS AND FEDERAL SUPERGRADE EXECUTIVES:
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF BLACK AND WHITE EXECUTIVES

Robert W. Brown

Introduction

I must confess that I had no hesitation whatsoever when Dr. Colbert invited me to participate in this conference to present my research findings on stress among black federal executives. It represents an opportunity to discuss a subject in which I invested many years of study and culminated in a doctoral dissertation from the University of Southern California. I was either naive or arrogant enough to believe that I was making a contribution to the field of executive behavior and leadership effectiveness. In fact, one of my research recommendations called for the convening of a roundtable on Executive Development for Black Executives. However, since I am a federal executive who makes his living and who is accountable for program areas that technically have nothing to do with executive stress or executive development, I am delighted to be a part of this first National Conference on Issues Facing Black Administrators in White Colleges.

Reasons for Study

My interest in the subject of executive stress began in the summer of 1973, while I was attending the Federal Executive Institute (FEI) in Charlottsville, Virginia. As a component of the then U.S. Civil Services Commission, FEI provided an eight-week residential experience in executive education for governmental officials, mainly at the "supergrade" level of GS-16 and above. The issue of executive stress surfaced in both subtle and conspicuous ways. Self-assessment exercises, personality inventories, teambuilding processes, seminar presentations, lectures and problem solving episodes all had the impact of elevating my awareness of the interpersonal dimensions of executive experience.

Among the small number of black executives in attendance, including myself, a certain pattern of expression and concern was evident. It included voicing skepticism about traditional explanations of administrative behavior, defending the need for equalitarianism in federal employment and programming, and privately lamenting that the problems associated with being black compounded the administrative and policy aspects of our jobs. And yet, when I attempted to adopt a research mode of thinking, it was exceedingly difficult to determine what, in fact, was different about the black executive experience when one listened to the complaints and concerns of white executives.

Two years later in 1975, I published an article entitled "The Black Tax: Stresses Confronting Black Federal Executives." Theoretical, rather than empirical, it represented an effort to articulate the elusive problems thought to be unique to black executives. The black leadership response was so positive and seemingly validating, I decided to subject my assumptions to an empirical test as part of my academic program of public administration. Out of that process emerged my doctoral dissertation from the University of Southern California, which I want to present to you this afternoon (Copies of complete dissertation are available from UMI, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106).

A serious gap in the leadership research literature is the inadequate attention to black and other minority executives. For example, black executives are not mentioned at all in such classic federal literature as Marver Berstein's The Job of the Federal Executive (1958); Warner, et al.'s The American Federal Executive (1963); and Corson and Paul's

Men Near the Top (1966). Presumably, this was either because the numbers have been too few to be statistically significant; race was not regarded as a significant variable in conceptualizing leadership; the principle of scientific color blindness prevailed; or race was considered too sensitive an issue to include in leadership studies.

One bright light, however, is that this is beginning to change, at least in regard to black executives and managers in the private sector. Some which come quickly to mind are Edward B. Jones' What It's Like to be a Black Manager (1973); John P. Fernandez' Black Managers in White Corporations (1975); Richard F. America and Bernard Anderson's Moving Ahead: Black Managers in America's Business (1978); and David Ford and Diane Bagot's "Correlates of Job Stress and Job Satisfaction for Minority Professionals in Organizations" (1978).

Another reason for learning more about the black leadership experience is underscored by two recent trends. At the federal level, the number of black federal career executives, while still quite small, has increased. The increase was from 69 in 1969 to 223 in 1977. Currently (1982), there are 300 black executives representing 4.5% of the 6,626 career Senior Executive Service (SES) executives.

The other trend has been reported by Richard B. Freeman of Harvard (1976). In 1970, 51% of all black men in the United States with four or more years of college were federal, state and local government workers, as compared to only 27% of white males. And 14% of those black governmental employees were managers, which was about the same as the proportion of white male graduates. Seventy-two percent of black female college graduates were employed by government, as compared to 56% of white female graduates.

In spite of these trends, there is still a paucity of empirical and qualitative information as to the nature and extent of problems black executives and managers experience in government. This becomes evident when listening to the divergent opinions of black federal executives themselves, and others who have some degree of interest in the black leadership experience. The range of opinion is a continuum, beginning with a belief that most black executives are stress-laden because of their exposure to excessive and conflicting race-related role expectations.

At the other extreme of the continuum is a belief that black executives are minimally stressed because they do not have the range and scope of decisionmaking authority and responsibility normally associated with executive positions.

Somewhere between these two extremes is a line of reasoning that black executives face multiple stresses but successfully cope because they tend to be "Superblacks" who were only selected because of their exceptional competence. They are seen as having the survival skill of a people whose lives have been imprinted by racial oppression.

In sum, for those of us who want to enhance the effectiveness of both existing and future black executives as they reach the power centers of public and private bureaucracies, the need for more systematic studies about the black leadership experience is both clear and compelling.

Dr. Colbert asked that I focus my remarks on the research dimensions of this study, since most of the literature concerning black administrators is normative rather than empirical. In so doing, it is important that I make three points up front.

> In designing my research, I purposely decided to forego examining the important question of how black executives can better manage stress. While managing stress is an ultimate goal, the more important intermediate goal in my mind was to try to ascertain what is the nature of the stress that black executives confront. Stated another way, the reresearch inquiry concerned how race impinges upon the leadership experiences of black executives.
>
> My study, which involved 300 black and white federal executives (117 black and 183 white), did not focus upon executive stress, per se. Rather, the thrust was to determine whether there was a significant difference in the stresses experienced, based upon the race of the executives. For example, black executives reported a statistically significant higher rate of often feeling ignored in meetings unless they made a special effort (13.5% compared to 1.3% of white executives); but for the group as a whole, only 7.7% felt this way.

> The study was not intended to compare the quality of performance between black and white executives. To conclude that the more stressed black executives performed least well in their jobs is not warranted.

Conceptual Framework

Having hypothesized that black federal executives experience more stresses in their leadership roles than white executives, the toughest challenge was that of constructing a workable model for conceptualizing race-related executive stress, and in a manner that white executives as well as black executives could respond meaningfully to the same research questions, since the study was a comparative analysis. Since all respectable research begins with a theoretical framework for building the research design, which body of literature is most appropriate? The leadership literature on executives? The highly divergent literature on stress? The literature on ethnicity? Or the literature on organizational theory, since the workplace is the organizational setting for executive behavior? An exhaustive review of the literature in all of these domains revealed that none was completely exclusive and all were relevant in varying degrees. The search for a conceptual tool which would help to unify these interrelated theoretical domains resulted in the adoption of role theory (Robert Kahn, et al., Organizational Studies in Role Conflict and Ambiguity, 1964).

Role theory holds that what people do (their behavior) in a given setting (organization) and how they feel (emotions) about their behavior is largely influenced by expectations (roles) that other significant people (role senders) have concerning their conduct. These expectations may prescribe or proscribe the focal person's behavior and may be expressed directly or indirectly. Role conflict, role ambiguity, role overload and role underload are conditions which are known to produce tension, anxiety, frustration, hostility and a sense of futility in the executive constellation.

Executives are expected to perform three kinds of role requirements which make them particularly vulnerable to stressful conflicts and ambiguities. They are more frequently required to cross organizational boundaries; they are often expected to produce innovative solutions to nonroutine problems; and they are responsible for the work of others. These stress-producing roles call for reconciling multiple and often contradictory expectations from others, and for making major decisions in either managing rank and file employees or managing people who themselves are managers. A high degree of stress is usually associated with being responsible for the work of others, regardless of whether the supervision is direct or indirect. Parenthetically, when the ethnicity of the executive is added to this constellation, as is the case with black executives, the complexity of leadership is increased.

The executive role interactions are bounded by three important variables, conceptualized as organization, authority and power, and personality. Each influences the kind of role expectations and influence attempts, and their reaction to them.

The term "stress" is frequently used in everyday language as well as in the research literature, but there is no one accepted definition (McClean, 1976). Moreover, no two individuals react exactly alike in the same stressful situation. One person may become withdrawn and depressed; another hyperactive, compulsive, or abnormally gregarious. Some people lose their appetites, others become gluttonous; one sleeps incessantly, and another suffers from insomnia. Nonetheless, there appear to be certain common indicators of long term wear and tear on the individuals and of the presence of executive stress. Thus, after an exhaustive review of the literature, I constructed a working definition of executive stress as

> the resultant psychological and physiological state on executives when they perceive that (1) conflicting forces and incompatible demands are being made upon them in connection with their work; (2) at least one of the forces or demands is induced; and (3) the forces are recurrent or stable overtime. Often the resultant psychological and physiological state interferes with their functioning and impairs their adaptive capacity.

Organizational Stressors and Black Executives

The elements of organization seen as having unique significance as stressors for black executives are (1) the nature of the position held, and (2) the organizational climate in terms of (a) negative assumptions about the executive's competence, (b) limited involvement in the informal support system, and (c) organizational norms and pressures for conformity.

The nature of the positions which black executives hold in organizations often has race related implications which can be a source of stress. A commonly held perception is that many black executives are directors of *staff* rather than *line* program offices, and have limited budgets and small staffs. Many of these positions are believed to be equal employment opportunity and civil rights offices, as well as special assistant positions. Moreover, whether staff or program positions, it appears that a disproportionately large number of black executives are deputies, rather than directors. The functions of these positions are often inherently conflictual.

This investigator posits that one of the first problems that black executives perceive when appointed to a new job is a concern by organizational members as to whether they are competent to do the job. When competence is questioned, rather than assumed, a pattern of testing the executive usually occurs. These negative assumptions and probing for mistakes can evoke the black executives to feelings of anxiety, insecurity, resentment and anger. Strong pressure to demonstrate competence is often exerted by individuals with whom executives must relate in their role set. But the black executive's adaptive response is usually to work prodigiously to demonstrate competence quickly and to take on a burdensome role overload. At stake here is a struggle for personal pride, dignity, and a sense of worth.

Limited involvement in the organization's informal support system appears to be another significant problem for the black executive. This refers to individual members of the organization in whom one can confide and explore work-related problems, and to the informal organization usually manifested in executive social forums such as private clubs, dinner parties, country club activities, card playing, sport outings and church membership.

Most often there is only one black in the organization's top executive ranks. Although confidential relationships seem to evolve from personality and situational congruences which transcend race, group identity which develops from persistently common experiences is a compelling force in selecting a confidant. Initially at least, and perhaps over time, black executives feel that their occasional anxieties and aspirations would more likely be received with understanding and acceptance by another black executive.

Imposed or self-induced exclusion from the informal organization can be a source of apprehension and stress for black members of the formal executive team. The significance of the informal organization in making decisions and alliances affecting the formal organization has been long recognized by organizational theorists (Simon, 1971).

Organizational norms and pressures for conformity appear to have race related implications for the black executive. Lawrence Howard (1977) asserts that many black executives view themselves as "change oriented" but often find it difficult to resist the compelling organizational norms to conform. They are expected to be a part of the team, to observe certain social amenities on the job, and to project cordiality, all of which over time can isolate them psychologically and socially from the black community. Blacks internal and external to the role set often expect the black executive to take an aggressive stand, to use militant rhetoric, and to show evidence of feelings of distrust toward whites. Yet in the organization's executive ranks, militant confrontation, and hostile expressions are considered out of place and unprofessional.

Authority and Power and the Black Executive

The rank and position of black executives make them a part of the authority and power structure of their organizations. From a group whose existence has been marked by a socially imposed exploitive subordinate status, it should not be surprising that when black executives achieve superordinate status, it can become a source of consternation for them as well as their subordinates, both nonminority and minority. Role reversal is a social transaction that requires some mutual adjustment and accommodation.

I posited that this problem can be analyzed operationally by exploring how black executives feel about the amount of position authority they possess and how they feel about exercising authority. The importance of executives' perceptions of their authority has been corroborated in research in administrative leadership by Stogdill and Shartle (1955).

Feeling that one has less than the legitimate amount of authority as compared with other executives in the organization can be a source of stress. Several writers have made this observation with respect to the situation of many, if not most, black executives in predominantly white organizations (e.g., Sanders, 1967 and Spain, 1970). Fernandez (1975) cites a recent study indicating that 64% of black managers are in staff jobs without budgets or subordinates - factors usually indicative of authority and power. This could explain, according to Fernandez, why many black managers feel powerless.

The exercise of authority and power may be stressful for black executives. This is explained by the fact that oppressed groups have not had appropriate role models of authority and power. In American society, most authority, power and leadership has resided with white males who determine the dominant ideology.

Blacks moving into executive positions often find themselves psychologically viewing authority and power from a victim's perspective. Victims view authority with grudging deference, fear of exploitation, and sometimes contempt. There is a concern with whether they are unwittingly identifying with the aggressor and the oppressor as agents of the established order (Johnson, 1974). They wonder whether authority can be exercised democratically.

Another aspect of the problem of authority and power is that black executives in positions more central to the organization's overall policymaking process often feel that they only have very limited opportunity to impact on minority concerns, by virtue of the organization's mission and the nature of the positions they hold.

Personality and the Black Executive

It would be risky to hypothesize the existence of a personality prototype based on race alone since the human experience involves so many variables that shape and influence behavior and attitudes. Williams (1977) holds that to date there is no well-established theory of black personality that can be relied upon to answer the question of whether there is a unique black personality. However, it appeared to this investigator that there are certain common experiences, sufficiently pervasive and recurring among given groups and classes of people, which lead to fairly predictable attitudes and behaviors when faced with a common situation. In this respect, it was speculated that all black federal executives, in their growth and development, have been exposed to varying degrees of racial discrimination at the personal and institutional levels. As a consequence, they tend to hold certain common ways of coping, both adaptive and maladaptive. From these assumptions, this research hypothesized that there are three personality characteristics prevalent among black executives. They are Type A - high achievement orientation, mistrust, and flexibility.

This investigator believes that the Type A personality syndrome is common among black executives for essentially the same reasons as its commonality among white executives. In addition, however, there may be some ethnocentric factors which cause black executives to be even more Type A oriented. For example, Ford and Bagot (1978) conjecture that

> "Equal opportunity and affirmative action programs in organizations were instituted as a means of correcting past injustices. Often, in order for a Black or other minority to be hired and/or promoted, he or she had to be better than his or her White counterpart. Such requirements may have imposed a syndrome of overachievement and striving or, rather, Type A personality, on Blacks who desire to achieve and succeed in organizations."

One important implication of this research focus on personality is the health consequences for black executives. Although high achievers effectively get things accomplished, it may be at the cost of stressful assaults on the body and mind. Research has shown that the costs of denying fatigue make the executive a candidate for psychological causes of heart attacks and gastrointestinal disorders.

Another personality dimension which this investigator attributes to black executives is mistrust. All black executives are felt to have had some imprinting experiences of being the object of racial discrimination in their personal lives. In the social evolution and transition from overt and personal racism to covert and institutional racism, many blacks have adopted mistrust as a method of coping with real and imagined racism in their organizations as observed by Columbia University's Professor Tardy (1977). Functionally, mistrust is a survival skill, because it generates alertness and cushions the impact of disappointment. Dysfunctionally, it is a burden which dissipates psychic energy, interferes with establishing genuine relationships, and distorts reality.

Flexibility is another personality dimension which seemed to be common among black executives. They are seen as having incorporated a coping philosophy that they must be flexible because the rules constantly change in American society. Perceiving that often they will not be recognized as individual persons by whites, maintaining flexibility and a sense of humor in spite of it all becomes a survival strategy.

One of the negative consequences of flexibility cited by Kahn, et al. (1964) is that of role overload. Role senders in the organization tend to increase their expectations of executives who are markedly flexible and receptive. By contrast, less flexible executives receive fewer expectations from role senders and the tasks sent are likely to be only those which fit the executive's interests.

In sum, these postulated role theory dynamics concerning organizational authority and power and personality formed the conceptual base for the research hypothesis that black executives experience more stress in their leadership roles than white executives.

Research Design

This study was designed as a comparative analysis of executive stress among black and white federal career "supergrade" executives. The major hypothesis was that black executives experience more stress in their leadership roles than white executives. Thirteen subhypotheses were constructed to operationalize the predicted dimensions of greater stress.

The research design was drawn from a population of 6,462 executives. Since black executives constituted only 3.4% or 223 of the 6,462 executives, all of the black executives were selected and a random sample of 310 white executives were selected. Thus, the selected research sample was 533, and due to incomplete addresses, the invited sample totaled 479.

A 147-item close-ended self-administered questionnaire (pretest) was mailed to the research sample in July 1978. A response rate of 62.6% was achieved, representing 300 useable questionnaires. The response rate for black executives was 55.7% (117 returns) and 68.0% for white executives (183 returns).

The Mann-Whitney U Test was the principle statistic used in the study. This nonparametric test was appropriate since the questionnaire design employed predominantly ordinal scales (to capture behavioral data which cannot be quantified with precision [Siegel, 1955; Miller, 1977]).

Findings and Implications

The research results supported the major hypothesis that black executives experience more stress in their leadership roles than white executives. Of the 100 questions specially constructed to test the 13 subhypotheses, black executives responded in the predicted direction on 59, of which 28 were statistically significant at the .05 level and beyond. While white executives responded in the direction of more stress on 41 of the 100 questions, only 1 response was statistically significant (i.e., higher rate of allergies).

The 7 strongly supported hypotheses were

(1) more black executives felt that organizational members doubted their competence;

(2) more black executives had less involvement in and support from the informal organization;

(3) more black executives experienced more role ambiguity;

(4) more black executives held negative views about authority and power;

(5) more black executives had Type "A" personalities;

(6) more black executives felt more distrust toward organizational members; and

(7) more black executives were more flexible in their attitudes and functioning.

The 4 moderately supported subhypotheses were

(1) more black executives felt more pressure to conform and to not deviate from organizational norms;

(2) more black executives felt that they had less authority and power;

(3) more black executives experienced more physical and emotional health problems; and

(4) more black executives delegated more authority and power to their subordinates.

The 2 rejected subhypotheses were

(1) more black executives were in deputy positions (fewer rather than more); and

(2) more black executives experienced less job satisfaction (Black executives experienced more job satisfaction).

Personality and Black Executives

Of the three overlay variables, black executives differed most from white executives in their personality orientation. Of the 28 responses which were significantly different statistically, 9 concerned personality dimensions. Black executives were clearly more Type A high achievement oriented, which coincides with research reported by Ford and Bagot. The black executives also exhibited more mistrust, as has been posited by Tardy (1977), and they were more flexible and accommodating, which has implications for role overload, as Kahn, et al. (1964) have observed.

Personality is commonly considered a constant rather than a changing set of personal attributes. This seems implicit in Kahn's (1964) definition of personality as a person's propensity to behave in certain ways; his motives, values, habits and sensitivities. However, a more change oriented outlook on personality can be inferred from Maccoby (1976) who observed that the most important purpose of studying social character is to understand the real possibilities for progressive change. Black federal executives need to know that their Type A personality syndrome renders them cardiac-prone, a situation which is reinforced by their higher incidence of hypertension. Sustained high acheivement in American society is highly valued and often rewarded. But once executives begin treating their lives as their careers, worry is their constant companion (Maccoby, 1976).

Black executives need to be aware of the implications of mistrust as revealed by the personality analyses of this study. As noted earlier, for people whose lives have been etched by racial discrimination, mistrust is often objectively based and, functionally, mistrust can be a survival skill for generating alertness and cushioning disappointment. However, mistrust can also be dysfunctional by becoming a psychic energy burden which interferes with establishing genuine relationships and distorts reality. Learning when to make the distinction between objective and subjective mistrust should be considered a cognitive coping skill for black executives.

Similarly, black executives need to develop boundaries around the flexibility dimension of their personalities. Ideally, one could discover conscious ways to maintain the positive features of flexibility such as the capacity to adapt to changing and difficult circumstances without succumbing to a debilitative role overload caused by excessive demands and expectations of others.

Organization and Black Executives

Organization was the second highest overlay variable on which black executives differed most from white executives. Of the 28 responses which were significantly different statistically, 9 concerned stresses related to organizational dynamics. Black executives felt that their competence was doubted more; they had less involvement in and support from the informal organization; and they experienced more ambiguity. However, fewer black executives were in deputy positions; they felt less pressure to conform; and they experienced more job satisfaction. More operationally, the differences were feeling the need to be twice as good; perceiving less credit for their accomplishments; having lunch less frequently with subordinates attributing less importance to the informal aspects of the job; feeling that the nature of their job caused dissatisfaction with their performance; often feeling ignored in meetings; being bypassed in meeting dialogue; and feeling compelled to challenge the status quo.

These outcomes clearly suggest that efforts to improve this situation must include modification of the organizational climate.

Before this research was conducted, the investigator adopted the perspective that strategies for reducing negative stress depended upon whether the individual or the organization owned the stress. If, for example, the stress emanated from inside the individual executive, such as inner pressure to excel, that person owned the stress and this individual must take or be helped to take action to modify the situation. However, if the source of stress were external, such as a pattern of ignoring or devaluing the presence of black executives in meetings, the organization owned the stress and correction requires intervention to change or modify the organization.

These research findings call for using both strategies. For example, black executives were more inclined to discount the importance of the informal aspects of their jobs. This is a miscalculation and underestimation of how informal relationships affect the formal aspects of the executive function. There is a need to help black executives to change their individual orientation to this dynamic. At the same time, the white executives as a group should be made aware of their pattern of responses to black executives. Lack of social support in the executive role can increase the range stressors and decrease the capacity to withstand the stress.

Another predetermined objective of this study was to develop indights about the executive experience that would help black executives to avoid maladaptive behavior. The executive's subjective perception of inequity or discrimination, for example, is more important than whether those conditions objectively exist. However, a stress reduction strategy should seek to correct misperceptions whenever convincing objective data exists to conserve the executive's psychic energy for fighting real rather than imaginary enemies. The fact that white executives also experience strong pressures to conform and to not deviate from organizational norms; that white executives are as often, or more often, in deputy positions as black executives; and that white executives experienced less overall job satisfaction than black executives represent data that black executives should be made aware of as they assess their own situations. In fact, the higher rate of job satisfaction among black executives comports with one of the competing common perceptions that they successfully cope with multiple stresses by being "Superblacks" who were only selected because of their exceptional competence and strong survival skills. However, a precaution is suggested by other research which reported higher than expected job satisfaction among black managers. Fernandez (1975), for example, offers the explanation that the seeming overestimation of job challenge on the part of black managers was self-protective; that is, the managerial self-esteem would suffer if they admitted that their jobs were not challenging or otherwise fulfilling.

Authority and Power and Black Executives

The authority and power variable produced the most equivocal findings. Of the 28 responses that were statistically significant, 4 concerned this dimension.

On the one hand, the prediction was strongly supported that black executives feel more negative about the use of authority and power than white executives. At the other extreme, however, black executives, counter to the research prediction, were less inclined to delegate authority to their subordinates. Moderating both extremes was the finding that black executives, to approximately the same degree as white executives, felt that they had less authority and power. The one significant departure was that more black executives felt that thier job responsibilities were outside of the organization's major policy stream, which was consistent with Fernandez' research (1975) on why many black managers in the coporate sector feel powerless.

Since authority and power are so critical in the leadership role (Stogdill, 1953), and the more effective executives have a greater need for power than being liked (McClelland, 1974), it is essential that any executive development program designed for black executives must include a discrete track on the attitudes toward and the use of authority and power, and a candid assessment of their responsibilities. This has relevance for blacks already in the executive ranks as well as management development programs tailored for young black professionals who will be entering executive careers.

Executive Development Program

This investigator recommends that an executive development program for black executives be designed around the data from this study which have delineated those stressors which pose a greater problem for black executives. Remedies which are tailored to diagnosed problems stand a greater chance of success than generic approaches commonly applied to all executives.

A roundtable on executive development for black executives could convene a select group of black researchers, trainers, and others who have a special interest in public management concerns, as well as a group of black executives from federal, state and local government, and the private sector. This group would examine executives stress research findings, including this study, and chart a course for designing interventions which involve individual and organizational changes to enhance executive performance through stress reduction strategies.

I would hope that this MIT conference of black administrators could be the basis for organizing a roundtable on executive development for black executives.

ORGANIZATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO STRESS:
AMBIGUITY AND POWER/AUTHORITY RELATIONSHIPS

Pearl Spears Gray

Ms. Lambert, Dr. Friday, and fellow toilers in the Belly of the Giant!

As I thought about what to say and what to include in this analysis, I pondered the many approaches one could take. At about 3:30 a.m., when I was sitting and writing this paper after one of those days when by 9:15 in the morning you know that it is not going to be a good day, my historical sense told me that stress was very simply and conclusively being a black person with critical analysis skills living and performing outside of a penal or mental institution in the United States today!

Now, once I remembered that, everything else fell into place!

The questions surrounding power and authority relationships are important ones for an administrator to understand. Too much power, too little power or not being able to analyze the power centers in an academic institution can be fatal for a black administrator. The power brokers are sometimes not readily apparent. For example, the president of the faculty senate is in a potentially powerful position; however, he or she may not be the person who is able to really lead, develop strategy, pull coalitions together, or stop passage of agenda items. Some quiet, unassuming faculty member may be the real power broker in such a body. Also, departmental and school or college structures in a large university lend themselves to having an illusion of diffused power. In a small college or one with only one or two large or key departments, the power centers are more easily recognized.

The ambiguity factor in a causal relationship with stress can be viewed in several ways. First, there can be a lack of clarity in what you are to do. Secondly, there can be obscurity or indistinctness surrounding how far your authority extends within the college or university structure. This occurs frequently when you have dual or even, in some instances, triple reporting responsibilities. Thirdly, given most academician's ability to cloud even the simplest issue with unnecessary jargon and to tie their personal egos into any principle or idea which can effectively turn a committee meeting into a battleground looking a lot like the Roman gladiatorial arenas--every meeting has the potential for a struggle in power and authority. Another factor which can contribute to this entire issue of stress resulting from ambiguity and power is the omnipresent university committee. Sometimes I feel that in order to make the committee approach a functional management tool, I need both a touch of Divine Providence and a Machiavellian implementation strategy.

Who is at fault? Who is not at fault? As a black administrator, why are we always put in a position to explain the incorrect language, inappropriate dress and/or conduct of all black people on our campus, in the community, or even nationally? The dichotomy which exists between the printed and stated position responsibilities and the actual daily position requirements, both ephemeral and concrete, produce resurgent questions, internal and even external conflicts. Frequently these conflicts evolve into stress-producing situations.

The questions posed in the preceding paragraphs and probable answers can be analyzed within the contextual framework of ambiguity and power. Power is real, imagined, perceived, lent, shared, stolen and manipulated, but rarely freely given--all under the banners of academic freedom, excellence, for the good of the system or institution or students, even faculty. The black administrator, however, may have no input in some instances. Constant doses of these and other distracting behaviors in one's workplace eventually produce the ultimate question, "WHY am I here?"

Anger, frustration, chills, ulcers, feelings of job claustrophobia all too often are frequent companions of black administrators on white campuses. Conversations with black administrators in the corporate arena reveal a kinship with their counterparts in academia. The corporate and academic ladder can cause stress or occupational burnout. "Burnout is a manifestation of distress," according to Dr. Louis King, Director of the Fanon Institute in Los Angeles. This is especially true for a black administrator on a white campus.

Stress is any or all of the following for a black administrator on a predominantly white campus:

1. Making a daily work plan and not even completing any of the projects that day.
2. Spending time putting out fires.
3. Serving the university and black people too--and being misunderstood by both.
4. Having your work torn apart by a committee.
5. Having your budget cut and your responsibilities increased.
6. Living and working in a goldfish bowl.
7. Trying to be all things to all people all the time.
8. Having to write a dissertation and work full time.
9. Having published more articles than your white departmental colleagues, to be told that either you are too young to be considered for tenure this year, or that all of the articles must be in refereed journals or that you should slow down--don't be so ambitious and aggressive--after all, you are making some of your older white colleagues look and feel badly.
10. Contending with racism around the clock.
11. Feelings of having a fluctuating credibility--our credibility level goes up and down sometimes more than the stock market.
12. Living and working in physically isolated areas.
13. Viewing each compromise with the question of how much more of my black personhood did I give up this time.
14. Recognizing that important decisions affecting your areas are sometimes made in social circles to which you are never invited --on purpose.
15. Being an advocate of and for black colleges and demonstrating this in a concrete way.
16. Seeing, talking to, working with black students, especially undergraduates who think that a D+ or C is fine or that it is black culture to be late to class, meetings, appointments, to not even try or intend to meet deadlines--to turn in clean, neat, typed papers and in a format designated by the teacher or that it isn't important to do well in classes taught by black faculty.

The focus of this paper is organizational contributions to stress in black administrators on predominantly white campuses. The sixteen examples I have just cited are only a few of the primary contributors. In order to understand how stress impacts upon and is evidenced by black administrators on predominantly white campuses there must be some discussion of what constitutes stress.

Dr. Hans Selye is credited with discovering the concept of stress as an integral part of mental and physical illness. Prior to the early fifties this was a startling new theory of disease. Selye has several definitions of stress in varying stages of complexity. One of the more clinical is that "stress is the state manifested by a specific syndrome which consists of all the nonspecifically induced changes within a biologic system." He delineates three stages in a stress syndrome. Those stages are: "1. *Alarm reaction*." In this stage the body responds in some manner - in lay terms perhaps a pain of some sort could be evidenced--a migraine headache, for example. "2. *Stage of resistance*." The body attempts to mount its own campaign to fight the external forces invading it. "3. *Stage of exhaustion*," wherein the body may simply give up the fight and give in to some kind of physical or mental condition. In other words, all of the adaptive mechanisms were used up.

A simple definition of Dr. Selye's is also found in his book entitled *The Stress of Life*. It is that stress is the "rate of wear and tear on the body." He further states that "stress is the *sum* of all the wear and tear caused by any kind of vital reaction throughout the body at any one time." That is why it can act as a common denominator of all the biologic changes which go on in the body; it is a kind of speedometer of life. The symptoms and bodily effects are visible. However, there may be a multiplicity of causes.

Two management analysts and business consultants, Merrill and Donna Douglass, define stress as "any action or situation that places special physical or psychological demands upon the person." Their research shows that "stress affects people in three ways--emotionally, behaviorally and physiologically."

For Drs. Donald Ardelt and Mark Tager, "stress means tension." "It means a vague uneasiness, an uptightness, a sense of pressure or time urgency. It is often synonymous with frustration, an inability to accomplish a task, meet an expectation, or feel in control."

As Selye has stated, "we can say of a man he is under stress, but we shall have arrived at this conclusion only by the visible manifestations of his being under stress." Those visible signs could be continuous anxiety, loss of self-confidence, growing inability to make decisions, resentment--especially when it is generalized or random and non-focussed and frequently lashing out at colleagues for no apparent reason.

There are a number of physiological changes which can result from stress. The Douglass' list only a few of the physical ailments such as peptic ulcers, migraines, hypertension, rheumatoid arthritis, backaches, emphysema, ulcerative colitis, asthma, cancer, heart attack, and some forms of mental disease. Chronic prolonged stress is the most damaging to the body. Dr. Louis King stated that "Black hypertension and cardiovascular diseases, as a function of stress in America, have increased in the past three years to over three hundred per cent (300%)."

As black administrators we need to learn our personal stress quotient. Once we know what pushes our buttons to the danger point, we can design strategies to nurture our minds and bodies and ultimately neutralize those buttons. Not all stress is harmful. Only when the activity producing the stress is constant, continuous, distasteful, and debilitating are we headed for trouble. Also, the amount of and kinds of stress you can handle will more than likely either adversely or positively affect your opportunities for better jobs.

Being a successful manager/administrator requires you to be able to recognize potentially stressful situations and diffuse them both for yourself and for others. For example, before you attend a meeting with a recalcitrant dean, do your homework--have all of the information you need to respond to each of the arguments that might be raised. A faculty member who is angry because of being summoned to explain why something was done is probably not going to enter your office ready to cooperate. You must use your powers of persuasion, your skill as a diplomat and perhaps when these are not achieving the desired goal, a simple reminder that those kinds of actions could prove costly to the university and that one of your responsibilities as an administrator is to admonish and point out to those who err the necessity to change behavior. Spending time planning what you will do and say ahead of time eliminates much of the element of surprise and gives a feeling of being in control. Here you have eliminated the ambiguity of who is in charge and halted an attempt to take over your meeting. Do not appear indecisive. Indecision allows someone else the opportunity of making decisions you should be making. It also enables both colleagues and subordinates to say, "There's no need to expect decisive action from you--because you are capricious."

Counteracting the stress syndrome means studying the people with whom you must interact. This means you look for the movers--both overt and covert. You know how the lines of responsibility, both formal and informal, are drawn and why. Find out what the working philosophy for your institution is and whether or not it is different from the written one. Leadership styles and characteristics are key indications of a person's philosophy. Learn what they are of the people or person to whom you report. What are the methods used by people in important positions in your institution to obtain data, access, visibility and clout? If you are in the executive suite, you must learn the operating modes of those people who impact either positively or negatively upon your university. What are their agendas? Where will they lend support to you and where will they attack? Most important for you to know at all times is what is your agenda and why. Remember--fuzzy agendas lead to ambiguity. If YOU don't know where you are going, how can you lead someone else? Neither one of you will know when you have arrived at the right place.

Gamesmanship is not a subject taught in school but your survival depends upon your mastery of it. This does not mean you must resort to being dishonest or unethical. It simply means that you must be a master strategist. Remember this axiom: emotions make excellent servants but they make tyrannical masters who ultimately lose the battle and the war.

Stress, which ultimately can lead to emotional imbalance and physical illness takes on another dimension when it is being studied as a part of the baggage of black academic administrators on predominantly white campuses. That other dimension is the ever-present cloud of racism. One of the most difficult and intellectually frustrating activities is to try to show "liberal," well-meaning white academicians their unconscious racism and its effects. Their intent is quite different from the result. These whites' perception of themselves does not allow them - in their view - to act in the way a racist would. After all, didn't they march in the 60's; didn't they fight for a Black Studies Department; don't they speak out against apartheid? Trying to show them that accepting papers from black students the quality of which is at best questionable but clearly not the standard set for white students shows a racist attitude; or allowing black students to take easy courses and less scholarly professors; or counseling black students into careers that are already oversaturated and have little or no growth potential; asking every black male student what sport he plays; or demanding more from black students; or assuming that all black students have come from the same set of circumstances is clearly the behavior of a person who believes that blacks have an inferior role and place in society. As black administrators, we frequently have to bring such behavior to the attention of our white colleagues.

Dr. William Pierce, a San Francisco clinical psychologist, says, "Black people who work in white organizations have to deal with the stresses that everybody else has to deal with, plus they have to cope with being either directly or indirectly the target of institutionalized racism." Not only are we, as black administrators, frequently the arbitors of white administrators' malfeasance and misfeasance, but also we feel the brunt of their attacks consistently. Herein lies a major factor in the list of organizational contributors to the "wear and tear" on our bodies and minds. Since racism is an integral part of American life and predominantly white colleges and universities are merely a microcosm of the larger society, it is no surprise that societal ills are ever-present on campus. One hopes the process for addressing these concerns will be both scientific and humanitarian, given the lofty creeds and goals espoused by these hallowed institutions. However, there are times when the only one pointing out such infractions is the black administrator.

Do not allow yourself to be a dumping ground for the guilt of others. Internalizing the feelings projected by others that your credibility is not what it should be causes a stressful situation for black administrators. Recognition that you must--more frequently than your white counterpart--create, verify, and actively sustain your credibility is important for you to remember. However, do not let it become a festering sore within you. If you do, you are assisting in determining your own failure. Believe in yourself and your dreams. Your own personal desire to succeed must be uppermost in your mind. If you are a black with a negative attitude working in a predominantly white institution, you will ensure that you will not succeed. Neither can you forget the unique role you play on that campus. We cannot afford to become so relaxed among the "ivy" that we become complacent.

Living and working in a goldfish bowl can lead to frustrations and stress. Knowing that whatever you do or say will be judged, analyzed, and critiqued as if you are a specimen under a microscope is a constant companion if you are a black administrator on a white campus. This intensifies if you live in a small college town. Having the feeling that you are always on center stage causes you to always analyze the pros and cons of your behavior. It keeps you alert and ever-mindful of the varying consequences of your actions. You will have to develop a comfort place and level for yourself within these parameters. Perhaps going away to visit friends on weekends, or attending church in a neighboring community will help. It is important for you to present yourself effectively both in demeanor and verbally. What is your style? It should contribute to aiding you to reach the goals and heights that you want to achieve. In the book, The Black Manager: Making It In the Corporate World, by Floyd and Jacqueline Dickens, effective style is defined "as a person's manner of successfully expressing him or herself in writing, speaking, behaving, and personal appearance."

Living and working in areas where there are very small populations of black people is another factor contributing to stress. From this physical isolation can come mental isolation. Much of the socializing that we do as black administrators on predominantly white campuses is job-related. Those athletic events, cocktail parties for prospective deans and faculty, brunches honoring professor so-and-so, dinners and lunches to discuss thus-and-so, weekend beach retreats all of which must be attended takes its toll on your personal time and mental harmony. Oh, I must not forget those ever-present potlucks. I personally had never heard of a potluck until I moved to Oregon. These are a far cry from the elegant progressive dinners or more traditional dinner parties I was accustomed to in the South and East. The cultural mores in many instances are very different--to say nothing of the music, theatre, and other avenues for entertainment. A remedy for this is to remain in contact with friends in other parts of the country, develop contacts among those other blacks who are there or in close proximity. Of course, being creative on the environment of your campus by offering suggestions for speakers, artists, and other black scholars to visit helps your needs and impacts positively upon the campus and community.

The maintenance of our culture and traditions is important and a source of concern when we are in all-white environments. Closely related to those concerns are ones which we generate within ourselves after each compromise. The ability to compromise is an important management skill. However, not all compromises are based strictly on managerial principles or on weighty organizational matters alone. Those issues which involve our own personal philosophy, have some relevance for or about black people, are the ones which cause us to ask ourselves the question, "How much of me did I give up this time?" A part of this stems from falling into the trap of feeling responsible for the actions of all blacks on our campus. This leads to feeling the responsibility to try to eradicate all of the ills which befall black faculty, staff and students on the campus. Be a resource, an advocate, an information-sharer--but you must allow people to take the consequences of their actions when they are wrong. Don't let the university off the hook when it is wrong, but don't take everything as your personal struggle. Fight the fight with black people and alone if that is strategically necessary. But if they abdicate their responsibilities to share the struggle with you, then you should tell them that you still care, but you must turn them over to whatever Divine Power they recognize. We cannot save people until they believe they need saving.

One of the more glaring stress factors for us is the fear of failure. Many times it is our perception that failure carries with it not just personal failure but failure for our families, other blacks on campus, and black people in general. This comes from our desire to break the belief of some whites who are always looking for ammunition to fuel their fire of "I told you blacks couldn't be administrators--especially not in predominantly white institutions!" Attack this stress syndrome through the realization that (1) no one is perfect; (2) no one is always correct; (3) whites make mistakes also. Don't revel in these three facts to the point of becoming lax and allowing your productivity level to decline. Simply do not fear making an error. Make sure your data has been checked and rechecked, follow sound management principles, follow your intuitive mind, and develop a heightened ability to read cues from other people, the general environment, and in each social context. If you make an error, admit it and immediately proceed to correct it.

The best approach for stress reduction is to know thyself, believe in yourself, don't be afraid to take risks, and remember that you have every right to have that job. Be good to yourself. Do some things you enjoy doing. Do not internalize their inadequacies or their attempts to make you feel inadequate.

In conclusion, I will leave these words with you, "Power is the ability to cause people to perceive that you can give rewards when they behave properly and give punishment when they do not respond to you." Power is responsibility and administrators must be able to take charge, enjoy it, not fear making tough and unpopular decisions, and exude confidence while demanding respect. Authority is given, power comes only partially from one's position. The fully-functioning black manager understands how to get personal and charismatic power, how to use it, how to keep it, how to relate to it in others, how to make it work for black people and how to make that white institution not only believe but prove by hard money that it is in their best interest that you not only sit at the banquet table but that you select the menu, the guests, and the staff to serve it.

Stress comes with the territory. We need and must be mentors. We need and must be role models to black students. Sometimes we need to work longer hours and harder than our white counterparts. We must succeed.

But make stress work for you--not against you. Remember these institutions need us. We have a right earned by the blood of our mothers and fathers to be there. Our training, perspectives, and resources are equally as important to the ultimate success of that institution as that of any of the white administrators.

Thank you for the opportunity to share some thoughts with you.

SOURCES OF STRESS: OR HITTING HOMERUNS IN A FOOTBALL GAME; OR GETTING LEGAL ADVICE FROM A PHARMACIST; OR GATHERING FLOWERS IN ANTARCTICA; OR DEEP SEA DIVING IN THE HIMALAYAS; OR FISHING IN THE DESERT; OR TAKING AN AIRPLANE IN THE SUBWAY; OR PURCHASING TRACK SHOES FOR A SWIMMING MEET; OR MAKING A FIELD GOAL IN A CHESS MATCH; OR WHEN GOOD MEANS BAD; OR LOVING ME MORE THAN YOU AND MINE MORE THAN YOURS ...

AND

COPING STRATEGIES: OR NOT DYING FOR AN ISSUE IF YOU ARE NOT LIVING FOR THE ISSUE; OR KNOWING WHEN TO COME IN OUT OF THE RAIN, INDEED, TO RECOGNIZE WHEN IT IS RAINING: OR AVOIDING HATCHET FIGHTS WITHOUT A HATCHET AND GANG FIGHTS WITHOUT A GANG; OR KNOWING WHEN TO HOLD THEM, WHEN TO FOLD THEM, WHEN TO WALK AWAY AND WHEN TO RUN; OR KEEPING "... YOUR HEAD WHEN ALL ABOUT YOU ARE LOSING THEIRS AND BLAMING IT ON YOU ...," ETC., ETC., ETC.; OR WALKING, TALKING, THINKING AND ACTING LIKE A MAN IN ORDER TO AVOID BEING MISTAKEN FOR A DUCK.

Charles E. Dickerson II

The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language defines stress as "to subject to pressure or to strain; to distress." However, as the word applies to the theme of this session and the topic of this workshop, it refers to the psychological and emotional tension produced by ambiguous, conflicting, and/or contradictory demands on the professional, racial, and personal commitment of black administrators at predominantly white institutions.

The essential sources of stress for black administrators are caused by our

* being an Afro-American working in educational institutions structured to respond to the circumstances of Euro-Americans,
* representing the world's racial diversity in a society which acknowledges only European ethnicity, and
* symbolizing the American experience in a culture which seeks to embellish and exaggerate its European heritage.

Quite simply, it is pressure, strain, and indeed stress to be black in white America! Furthermore, it is shocking, disrupting, and distressing to be black, competent, committed, and honest in institutions wherein colleagues, subordinates, supervisors, and students, both black and white, expect and often desire the opposite. The best way to cope is to know the rules of the game; differentiate between what you think and what you think they think; keep your eye on the ball; and never forget who you are, where you are from, and why you are here.

There are several sources of stress for the black administrator at predominantly white institutions.

* The conflicting myth and reality of the Afro-American experience.
* The tensions in the historical and sociological strategy proposals for the plight of Africans in America.
* The tension derived from trying to serve two or more masters (or being a slave for the masters and a servant for the masters' other slaves).
* The contradictory norm (or the exceptions versus the rules).
* The distress of ambiguous friends and foes (or diagonal issues in vertical/horizontal debates).
* The difficulty of delivering professionalism when it is not desired (or providing what is needed rather than what is wanted).
* The disruption of the family (or bringing one's family on hazardous duty).

* The Conflicting Myth and Reality of the Afro-American Experience.

America was the promised land for the diverse clan, tribal, and ethnic groups of Europe. It literally resolved the various religious, linguistic, political, cultural, and socioeconomic tensions which had plagued the continent for centuries. Europeans voluntarily came to America. However, Africans involuntarily came to America. Instead of resolving problems, America created problems for blacks. Europeans came to America to do better; Africans were brought to America to do worse. The prevailing social reality for Euro-Americans is often the opposite for Afro-Americans, a myth. Therefore, it is stress to live in a country wherein the societal truths, the prevailing attitudes and assumptions are not applicable to you. In fact, one's stress increases the more one learns of reality/myth conflict. Consequently, as in "if you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen approach," then if you can't stand the stress, become ignorant! However, I assure you that if you could speak to the spirits of our ancestors, they would advise that the stresses of success are preferable to those of poverty.

* The Tensions in the Historical and Sociological Strategy Proposals for the Plight of Africans in America.

Black administrators have to put themselves in the appropriate historical and sociological context. Historically, the dilemmas of the black administrators are contemporary versions of those represented by differences between Richard Allen, James Forten, and Paul Cuffee; David Walker, Frederick Douglass, and Martin Delaney; Booker T. Washington, DuBois-Trotter, and Marcus Garvey; and Martin Luther King, Wilkins-Young, and Malcolm X. Essentially, the dilemma is, are we Africans temporarily exiled to America, or are we Americans who because we are from Africa will be a little different but basically the same as other groups? Or, do we possibly represent something different than either, a new synthesis? Are we Americans, but Americans with a fundamentally different perception of America? Resolving this difficult hitherto unresolved dilemma to the point that one can act confidently is the only productive way to relieve the stress this circumstance produces.

Sociological stress is produced by the non-privileged role of black administrators within an educational hierarchy which gives preference to faculty. This stress is compounded when blacks are educators in a society which gives preference to law, medicine, business, engineering, and more often than not even to professional athletics and entertainment. This is particularly true for the black community. Indeed, American society equates ability to make money with intelligence, but blacks seek to resolve their economic plight through education. To the black community, which was thought genetically inferior, education was traditionally the means to reject the charge. Yet, education produces less income than any of the prominent professions. Thus blacks need education to combat racism but that education does little to combat poverty. It is important to note that other groups used education to confirm their socioeconomic status, only blacks use it to acquire socioeconomic status - more stress.

Now, I hate to bear this bad news, but for those who don't yet know, educational administration will not put you in the ranks of America's financial elite. In fact, only the lucky will be able to keep more than two pay checks away from welfare - or being part of the truly needy. Economic success will have to be attained by brothers and sisters in other professions; hopefully in part due to the help and encouragement we provide our students. But if we are competent, honest, and committed, we can do something about anti-black racism and Euro-American ethnocentrism in both the minority and majority communities.

* The Tension Derived From Trying to Serve Two or More Masters (or Being a Slave for the Masters and a Servant for the Masters' Other Slaves).

Institutions of higher education, as with all institutions, are established to perpetuate and promote cultural values - scientific, educational, economic, social, religious, etc. American colleges and universities are the citadels of European/Euro-American values. All administrators are hired to develop, but especially to implement, policies designed to perpetuate these values in the education of students and reflected in the curriculum as articulated by the faculty and consented to by the trustees. These values in many ways are not attuned to Afro-America, let alone America - therefore, stress.

This basic stress is exacerbated when a black administrator confuses the imperatives of public and private institutions or those of colleges and those of universities. In addition, this form of stress is complicated when the black administrator lacks association with black tenured faculty colleagues. Faculty can, and indeed are, expected to question, doubt, and propose alternatives which don't have to work - they only have to be either idealistic or logical, not practical or realistic. It is distressing when pressure is applied to the black administrator to act as a faculty member without the latter's prerogatives or security.

A variation of this dilemma occurs when the black administrator is junior or middle level without other blacks in the senior administration or on the board of trustees. In such circumstances, the black administrator is expected to have the view of a general but the attitude of a sergeant; the accountability of the admiral but the power of a sailor - stress, pressure, distress.

Finally, being a slave for the master and a servant for the slave is not meant to be totally sardonic. White institutions expect the loyalty and empathy traditionally demanded of slaves and yet the minority students expect the service, enthusiasm, and attention one receives from a servant (or we will have you fired).

Now, the next two causes of stress are sensitive subjects, but they must be mentioned. Yet, I hope that my comments aren't misinterpreted to suggest that I oppose diversity within the black community or coalitions with other groups.

* The Contradictory Norm (or the Exceptions Versus the Rules).

Most Afro-American students in this society are descendants of southern born slaves. They are either Baptist, Methodist (A.M.E., A.M.E.Z., C.M.E.), or Pentecostal, not Muslim, Catholic, or Buddhist. The overwhelming majority are not Afro-West Indian or African. The vast majority have black fathers and mothers. Most black men and women who are married are married to someone black. And despite the perversions induced by this society on black masculinity and femininity, most are confirmed heterosexuals. Also, most have attended, if not traditionally black institutions, white ones with large black communities either on campus or in nearby communities.

Yet, my impression of black faculty and staff at predominantly white institutions suggests a disproportionate number are either of foreign-born, mixmarried, single, gay, or non-black Christian circumstances. What would the teaching, advising, and counseling or just the atmosphere on a white campus be like, or what would be the effect on a white collegiate student body if the majority of the white faculty or staff were from Germany or France, or married blacks, or were single, or adopted gay lifestyles. Such an institution would be in trouble.

All blacks should be tolerant of diversity and openminded toward differences in people. But, when you are black, married black, graduated from a black institution, Baptist, and straight, you should not have to beg to be tolerated. What happens when the exceptions become the rule, when whites expect and want abnormal to be normal. Black administrators are not only a minority, they are often a minority within a minority.

* The Distress of Ambiguous Friends and Foes (or Diagonal Issues in Vertical/Horizontal Debates).

The black administrator has to deal with liberal friends who think that because you are black you support policies you oppose and conservative foes who think you oppose policies you support. Both friends and foes oppose or support you based on what their racial stereotypes make you symbolize to them, not what you say or do. The liberals have the audacity to claim to know you better than you know yourself; and the conservatives have the ignorance to accept without hesitation their claim. Generally, the liberals think that because you are black you support loose educational and professional standards; and the conservatives think that because you are black you represent the institution's loose educational and professional standards.

In addition to liberals and conservatives, black administrators have to deal with the intellectual contradictions professed by two other kinds of groups. The first are self-righteous, arrogant ethnics. They often believe that American society and its institutions are the sole preserve of those from Europe. They expect blacks to be more concerned with the tragedies in Europe's history which affected them, than the greater tragedies in America's history which affected us. They want us to be more concerned with human rights in Russia and Eastern Europe than in South Africa. They support the child of the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland but oppose the parent movement in America. They want to label the anti-fascists of the 1940's in Italy and France as freedom fighters, but the anti-colonialists of the 1980's in Southern Africa as terrorists. They debunk affirmative action in American domestic policy and advocate selective affirmative action in American foreign policy.

But what is possibly most distressing is the attitude promulgated that unlike the blacks, European ethnics made it into the skilled jobs, professions, and education through merit not special help. And black administrators, faculty, and students are expected to accept this. We are supposed to ignore the criminal activities of the ethnic characterized groups such as the Mafia, Murder, Inc., and urban political machines. We are supposed to overlook the racism of the labor unions and college admissions policies because ethnics claim not to be the ones who held slaves. But indeed, they benefited from the socioeconomic, political, and educational circumstances which slavery and segregation produced. And, in every European society I know of, receipt of stolen merchandise is a crime.

In addition to the self-righteous, arrogant ethnics, black administrators have to deal with other "minorities." Because the treatment of Afro-Americans and Native Americans are the classic examples of American oppression, other aggrieved groups exaggerate and distort their proposals by dubious and specious comparisons with the black experience. Claiming "just like the blacks," they use analogies for documentation rather than for illustration. Then they expect black administrators to be "more Catholic than the Pope;" they expect you to risk more for them than they will risk for themselves.

You are expected to overlook that white men do not shoot into ERA demonstrations or that white women inherit white men's wealth; that young white radicals age with time and can cut their hair or change their dress; that gays can stay in the closet; that white men, women, and children participated in the slave culture; that Russia has racism; that Latin America has color prejudice; and the French, Spanish, and Portuguese were among the prime movers in the slavery structure. Still, black administrators are supposed to ally with these and other groups to resolve their grievances often in order to have the freedom and security to express and act on the anti-black racism which prevails in American society.

More often than not, the effective difference between friends and foes will appear to be merely "six of one, and a half-dozen of the other."

* The Difficulty of Delivering Professionalism When It is Not Desired (or Providing What is Needed Rather Than What is Wanted).

Despite meager financial remuneration, moderate clout, or less respect, the black administrator has to represent professionalism - standard quality service regardless of attitudes, personality, politics, or even racism. And, if you succeed, seldom will it be attributed to professionalism or hard work. Your logical deductions, your rare insight based on experience and intelligence will be attributed to luck, fortune, and opportunity. When you achieve in a program or project, you will be like "Topsy" who grew up all of a sudden, all by herself, with no parents. But your failures will be thought reflective of your true ability. You must accept that competence, intelligence, commitment, honesty, and integrity are revolutionary. Moreover, you must demand supervision and search for a mentor. The former is necessary for fair evaluation and objective comments; the latter is necessary for professional growth and development. In addition, you must join a network of black and white peers in other places. What scars do you think "Topsy" carried into adulthood?

* The Disruption of the Family (or Bringing One's Family on Hazardous Duty).

Black administrators must prepare their spouses and children for the circumstances. They must understand the nature of sexual racism, how gut feelings are revealed when alcohol flows, the politics of cocktail parties, bridge clubs, and volunteer activities. Your spouse must understand that often some will suggest to him/her circumstances the opposite of the truth. Children at school will reveal to your child dinner table conversations about you. People will mislead your spouse about you, question your children about you, and contribute to your doubt about them. Keep your spouse generally informed and tell your children not to speak of their parents' business or personal lives with strangers, acquaintances, or friends. Be aware that your family has accompanied you on hazardous duty.

The aforementioned comments on the Sources of Stress and Coping Strategies are based on the analysis, interpretation, and extrapolation of themes common in historical and social science studies dealing with ethnocentrism, prejudice, and racial subjugation. Following this essay is a selected bibliography of such works. However, these and other works seldom if ever directly and practically address the professional and management difficulties confronted by black administrators in predominantly white institutions. Moreover, scholarly studies on management, when they deal with biracial/bicultural or multiracial/multicultural issues assume the perspective and terminology of the ruling, dominant group.

In some ways Afro-American folklore is a more solid basis for understanding and responding to the difficulties confronting black administrators. Often black folklore succinctly describes circumstances in a humorous and realistic manner, and proceeds to propose action based on "another wit" and common sense. Below are excerpts from an essay on black folklore, "Afro-American Axioms and Minority Maxims: The State of the Art and a Possible Foundation of a Science." Possibly the Axioms and Maxims will embellish and highlight the other comments on Sources of Stress and Coping Strategies.

Afro-American Axiom #1: Many Negroes will always interpret kindness as weakness, and racial commitment as stupidity.
Comment: It is difficult for most to believe that you would do what they wouldn't do if they were in your situation.

Afro-American Axiom #4: Nobody passes for a Negro. That is how you know which group is oppressed.
Comment: Some Chicanos pass for Indians. Some Indians pass for white, others pass for Chicano. Some Orientals pass for white. Some Jews pass for Gentiles. Some Italians pass for Irish or German. But, nobody passes for Afro-American. Even black Puerto Ricans and Afro-West Indians shun passing for Afro-American.

Afro-American Axiom #6: Many issues depend on how dumb you are not rather than how smart you are.
Comment: The silly things that some people will try! Never doubt how low they will go.

Afro-American Axiom #7: Some people will dig a ditch for you to fall into and then get fighting mad and hysterical because you are too smart or too lucky to fall into that ditch.
Comment: When you are black, people are guaranteed to underestimate your ability and then penalize you for not living up to or, maybe more correctly, living down to their evaluation.

Afro-American Axiom #8: If you are black, dark and smart, blacks will check out everything you tell them with whites and whites will ask you what country you are from.
Comment: According to Euro-Americans, there must be some factor to explain this individual's intelligence since all Afro-Americans are stupid.

Afro-American Axiom #11: Many times what it takes for blacks to gain something makes it not worth it when they get it - Euro-American is the master of conceding to Pyrrhic victory.
Comment: Black mayors of cities depend on the evluation of a black voting majority which in and of itself means the depletion of the white middle class and corporate tax bases which makes being a mayor an important position.

Afro-American Axiom #25: A black hippie is a black man imitating a white man imitating a black man.
Comment: These kinds of black people go to the grocery store, buy food, have it wrapped in a bag, go home and throw the food away and keep the bag.

Afro-American Axiom #35: Bigots hunt and trap wild animals. Conservatives domesticate wild animals. Radicals let them run free on game preserves. Liberals regulate hunting and care of animals. Whites believe that blacks are animals. Liberal whites are like the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.
Comment: They think that we are subhuman, animals, different, and inferior.

Afro-American Axiom #37: Euro-Americans like Afro-Americans who don't like Afro-Americans.
Comment: Euro-Americans don't mind accepting the individual if this acceptance doesn't challenge but reaffirms their attitude toward the group.

Afro-American Axiom #43: Sometimes people cannot see you because they are looking down and not up.

Comment: Since racism assumes the inferiority of blacks, often genius is overlooked.

Afro-American Axiom #46: Poor blacks have been victimized by concurrent and continuous attacks of a variety of catastrophes with effects similar to a people enduring over fifty years of war, epidemic, and depression at the same time. We'd or we had. The plight of the poor black can only be illustrated when one considers the social ramifications of world wars on European nations such as England, France, Germany, Italy, and Russia; the consequences of the bubonic plague on medieval Europe; and the effect of the Great Depression on American society.

Comment: War for the black community is analogous to the ghetto crime ratio; epidemic for the black community is the permeation of drug addiction; and depression for the black community is the appalling unemployment rates particularly among the inner city youth. Each one of these circumstances alone caused tragic distortions of the social fabric of the white people afflicted. What should we expect when all three scourge the black community for over fifty years?

Afro-American Axiom #47: An Uncle Tom is merely someone who does not know his value.

Comment: In a modern, sophisticated, diversified, complex society compromise is a requirement. However, it is also a requirement for success not to compromise too easily. Everybody is obligated to somebody, and as blacks become upwardly mobile, they are obligated also. And many, if not most, of those to whom they will be obligated are white. Therefore, the issue is not compromise, obligation or selling out, but at what price? And then, what good can you do for black people with the consequences? Black people must understand tradeoffs.

Afro-American Axiom #48: Every brother is not a brother.

Comment: Blacks can be dishonest also. Help brothers and sisters but don't be stupid.

Minority Maxim #1: The first priority of poor blacks is to get out of poverty. Any program, policy or activity directed towards them which does not directly or indirectly contribute to the relief of their economic distress is at best tangential or irrelevant and at worse deceptive and sinister.

Comment: Most of the salient pathologies of the urban and rural poor blacks, the fatalism, desperation, low self-esteem, and desire for immediate gratification, are due to the vicious cycle of poverty in which they are imprisoned. Certainly racism is the root cause. However, as long as Afro-Americans represent a grossly disproportionate percentage of America's poor, neither they nor Euro-Americans will overcome anti-black racism.

Minority Maxim #2: The primary objective of the Afro-American working class is to assure that their children start with a better chance than was available for them.

Comment: There are two very important secondary issues for the black working class: a) stay out of the pathology of poverty, b) make full use of the political process by registering to vote, keeping abreast of the issues and voting for their collective interests.

Minority Maxim #3: The major function of black professionals and other members of the Afro-American middle class is to develop their competence and expertise to excellence. It is as crucial now as it ever has been for the Afro-American middle class to demonstrate collectively to whites, poor blacks and the world what heights blacks can ascend to if given an opportunity.

Comment: In addition, professional and other middle class blacks should tithe--they should give at least one-tenth of their time and money to something positive for other blacks. This should be done for reasons of ethics and group consciousness. To those who are only motivated by selfishness, note that whites may like you but they will not respect you if you don't in turn respect yourself and your people.

Minority Maxim #4: The Afro-American upper class - the independently wealthy if there are any - must engage in black philanthropy, leadership, and "noblesse oblige" in general. Just as we expect the poor oppressed blacks to act oppressed, we have a right to expect our "creme de la creme," our Afro-American elite, to have a responsible, committed, and progressive impact in our community.

Comment: Only the black elite can take risks for the black community with relative impunity. Only they are beyond the direct financial, political, and social power of whites. Don't blame the poor blacks for submitting to the awesome power of whites in order to survive but castigate the black elite for unnecessary compromise in order to obtain prestige, status, or popularity.

Minority Maxim #5: If you refuse to have racism run you out of America, then refuse to allow jealousy and ignorance to run you out of black America.
Comment: The black elite, along with the black bourgeoisie, must be joiners; they should belong to a multiplicity of Afro-American mass organizations and institutions such as Boule, Links, collegiate fraternities and sororities, and the NAACP and the Urban League. However, they should individually and collectively make a periodic presence at the Black Baptist, Methodist, and other fundamental churches, at the local, state, and national gatherings of the Black Masons and the Black Elks, and at the local clubs, bars, and organizations of various black communities.

Such activity won't be easy; it will be difficult as hell! Participating blacks will be subjected to periodic individual and collective abuse, debasement, and founded and unfounded criticism. They will risk victimization by the paranoia and ambition of the black dictator or tyrant. But the black bourgeoisie and elite should relatively passively acquiesce. For the purpose of their presence is not intervention or competition, but to establish, or re-establish contact with the black masses, to show them that they are concerned, and to remind themselves about what concerns unfortunate blacks. The black elite and bourgeoisie should not have to rely on white liberals and radicals to explain the black masses. Remember, a black leadership must have followers.

Minority Maxim #11: Learn white people - how they act, how they think, intragroup rivalries, etc. Take your own course in white studies.
Comment: Don't be so ready out of insecurity and desire for personal attention and popularity to teach whites about blacks without learning about whites. In the last twenty years since blacks have removed themselves from domestic work, they no longer know whites as they once did. This situation could be detrimental to survival. Moreover, Afro-Americans should be learning how to run America, not merely how to rule blacks.

Minority Maxim #15: Try to develop influence in areas of your job which are crucial to the function of the organization in which you are employed. Try to become needed but not indispensable.
Comment: Production marketing and accounting are crucial areas in business. Investments and loans are vital in banking. Remember that it is better for your career to be a foreman in production than a vice-president in social action. No one will ever head a firm who doesn't know about the functions which determine the firm's existence. All vice presidents for Affirmative Action should note this maxim unless the firm's business is producing or selling Affirmative Action.

Minority Maxim #18: Don't sell out cheap. Don't go to jail for robbing parking meters with a gun.
Comment: Why not rob a bank? Why take the same risks for nickels and dimes? This is particularly true for the black middle and upper classes. They are our privileged groups. Many blacks sacrificed for them to get and stay where they are. They are the stewards, guardians, and custodians of Afro-American potential. When they play the game cheap, they are guilty of misappropriation of resources.

Minority Maxim #19: Don't abandon black institutions to the charletons nor the minds of black children to the crazies.
Comment: Many of the criticisms which the black middle and upper classes, and black professionals and intellectuals have of the black masses, their culture and institutions, are the fault of the critics. The majority of blacks are in the black schools, lodges, churches, etc. and they have been abandoned to black charletons and crazies by the default of those who criticize them. If you are unwilling to live for black people, do not claim to be willing to die for them.

Minority Maxim #20: Suicide helps your enemy.
Comment: Never permit your opponent, particularly white racists, to goad you into doing something ridiculous. Remember that the pride of the Afro-American experience is the ability to endure insurmountable obstacles and survive. Your existence is his

problem; your removal is his solution. Why help your enemy?

Minority Maxim #22: Learn to learn from those whom you don't like and/or who don't like you.

Comment: "Like" is not a necessary factor for education. Select your mentors based on their knowledge, not their personality, or even racial attitudes. You should be able to learn southern politics from George Wallace or physics from William Shockley. However, you should not go to either for a course in race relations.

Minority Maxim #24: Know what game you are playing, the rules, the objectives, and the players.

Comment: Don't come to a swimming meet with track shoes or to a tennis match with a bowling ball. A home run in a football game, or a touchdown on the basketball court are irrelevant--interesting, but...!

Minority Maxim #25: Keep your eye on the sparrow or the ball whichever is appropriate.

Comment: Have a list of priorities. Don't permit secondary or tertiary issues to deflect from the primary one.

Minority Maxim #29: It is forgiveable to have been fooled, but don't be a fool.

Comment: Everyone can be fooled sometimes. If you are fooled by the same thing twice, you are being foolish, thrice and you are a fool.

Minority Maxim #30: In order to succeed in a bluff, you must have a track record. Do what you say. Deliver. Build a track record.

Comment: There are many appropriate versions of the story of "The Boy Who Cried Wolf," but the moral of each version is the same. When you are known as a person of action, your words will cause others to act.

Minority Maxim #31: Make sure that you know what they think of you. You don't have to like it or accept it, but you should know it.

Comment: It is so very easy to be deceived about your ability, both the positive and negative aspects, when your evaluators are racist. They are capable of telling you that you know what you don't know and that you don't know what you know, but find out what they think you know, not what they tell you they think.

Minority Maxim #34: Don't spread yourself too thin. There are many issues which require a threshold of reforms, resources and concerns to make change possible. If such a threshold cannot be attained, it is a waste of time and energy to get involved.

Comment: If unemployment for blacks without criminal records is staggering, is it rational to invest time and money on convict and exconvict employment? Do we really want to say that a black has to be imprisoned to get a job?

Minority Maxim #44: Don't let other people gamble with your chips!

Comment: Paying for your own mistakes is expensive. Paying for someone else's is exorbitant.

Minority Maxim #45: Don't be afraid to bite the bullet.

Comment: There are many situations in which if you don't make a decision, the decision will be made for you. There are other situations in which no decision is a decision. And finally, there are still other situations in which the only wrong decision is no decision. Never default on decision-making.

Minority Maxim #46: While whites sing with a fifty-two piece accompaniment, don't require blacks to sing acapella.

Comment: Don't be afraid to utilize the technology and trappings of this society to make black attractive as Euro-Americans have done to make white attractive.

Minority Maxim #49: We as a people must stop admiring failure and fearing success.

Comment: If you emulate those who failed, your action will probably be even less than theirs. Many of those we admire should be objectively analyzed and evaluated.

Minority Maxim #51: Any dog who will bring a bone will take a bone.

Comment: Blacks in desirable jobs or involved in important activity will always be watched, scrutinized, and evaluated. Since you know that, find out who is designated to perform these functions in reference to you. Then, with a little care, you can be in control of the situation meant to control you.

Minority Maxim #59: You cannot seek individual solutions to collective problems.
Comment: Racism is a collective problem of black people, but whites will advise to seek individual escape from white racism and blacks will accept the advice. Yet, every segregationist law in America made reference to Negroes--not Jimmie Washington or Ada Belle Jefferson.

Minority Maxim #60: There are some things which you just cannot tell white people. If they believe you, you will have made them more effective and efficient racists. If they don't believe you, they are bound to think that you are crazy.
Comment: It is difficult for whites to adopt a black perspective of the absolute ridiculousness of racism and then act in logical ways to remedy such an advantageous circumstance for whites.

Minority Maxim #63: If they force you, really force you, hold out to the last moment, but live. Say your name is Toby, but tell your children that it is Kunte Kinte.
Comment: I know a guy who told me the following: "My name is Charles Edward Dackins IV. Charles Edward is a Christian name and I am a Christien. If it were a white name, it would be Carolman Ethelred. Dackins is my father's name, my grandfather's name, my great-grandfather's name, and my great-great-grandfather's name. For whatever reasons they accepted that name, I accept it. I have too much respect for, and fear of, my father to question it."

Minority Maxim #65: White people can steal from white people. White people can steal from black people. Black people can steal from black people. But, no black people can steal from white people. Honesty for blacks is revolutionary!!!
Comment: If you think that you are getting away with stealing from white people, you'd better rethink it; you are only stealing from black people.

Minority Maxim #66: Make sure you are the arm and not the hammer.
Comment: Beware of being used in coalitions with "pseudo" radical, but racist, white groups.

Minority Maxim #70: Don't act in ways to win their affection, act in ways to demand their respect.
Comment: Be consistent, act on your words.

Minority Maxim #72: Don't allow yourself to be promoted out of your area of competence.
Comment: If you don't even know your job, then you will have to be dependent upon others to keep it.

Minority Maxim #73: Beware of the lateral transferral of expertise.
Comment: Because one has a medical degree does not mean one should teach Black History.

Minority Maxim #75: Beware of the marriage of racism and jealousy.
Comment: Both are potent emotions. Together there are very few forces which can stop them.

Minority Maxim #76: Euro-America will often reward Afro-American irrational, destructive and negative behavior.
Comment: Therefore, beware of prominent blacks; analyze why they are prominent.

Minority Maxim #78: Afro-American life is not a 100-yard dash, it is a mile or a marathon; and black liberation is a relay race.
Comment: Too many of us run the 100-yard dashes of life and fail to compete in the mile. Black people must prepare for the distance events. We must relearn the training methods, and recultivate the endurance to run the mile, the stamina to survive the marathon, and to practice the technique of the relay. Liberation, true liberation will take time; there will be a variety of overt and covert obstacles; but most importantly, liberation, true liberation requires, indeed, demands the successful passing of obstacles or else the race will certainly be lost. On this latter issue, many gains acquired by a record setting pace on one leg of a relay was eliminated in the passing of the baton.

Minority Maxim #81: Crazy niggers are often crazy.
Comment: Crazy niggers usually don't limit the ramifications of their insanity to whites. Don't get so absorbed in the effect of crazy niggers on whites that you overlook their impact on blacks.

Minority Maxim #88: Be aware of the signs of a pre-meeting meeting.
Comment: When you and your colleagues meet to discuss a problem's controversial issue, and everyone is in agreement but you before one minute has elapsed - there has been a pre-meeting meeting!

Minority Maxim #89: A professional network like a chain is as strong as its weakest link.
Comment: In order for a minority professional network to be beneficial, all those in it must be competent. Even the President can't appoint an illiterate to the Supreme Court no matter how close friends they are. Optimum use of contacts presumes your competence. Steer clear of losers; sooner or later they will make you lose.

Minority Maxim #91: It is not so important to be serious as it is to be serious about important things.
Comment: Or, sticks and stones may break my bones, but names will never hurt me. Be wary, skeptical, cautious, indeed suspicious of those who adopt a serious profile and attitude about clothes, cars, or the Saturday night cabaret; but are downright silly about employment, civil rights, and education, and emotional, psychological, and physical abuse of children.

Minority Maxim #92: Experience is not the best teacher.
Comment: The reflection upon experience is the best teacher! You can "acquire" all the experience possible and still not learn; one must analyze, correlate, synthesize, and interpret experiences in order to learn from them.

The aforementioned comments on Sources of Stress and Coping Strategies are based on the analysis, interpretation, and extrapolation of the themes presented in the following works:

Racial Oppression in America by Robert Blauner
Black Power in America by Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton
Problems in the History of Colonial Africa 1860-1960 by Robert O. Collins
The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual by Harold Cruse
Souls of the Black Folk by W. F. B. DuBois
Wretched of the Earth and Black Skin, White Masks by Frantz Fanon
Black Bourgeois by E. Franklin Frazier
The Miseducation of the Negro by Carter G. Woodson
Internal Colonialism by Michael Hechter
The Colonizer and the Colonized by Albert Memmi
The Future of the Negro by Booker T. Washington

A significant aspect of each of these works deals with the cultural and institutional means of effecting group dominant/subordinate relationships. However, the manifestation of such relationships in education and management as it pertains to black administrators is seldom direct. I am a historian and educational administrator who has no formal training in psychology or management. However, I am not aware of any works which deal directly with the problems of blacks in institutional leadership. Indeed, the few works which I have read deal more with whites managing biracial/bicultural or multiracial/multicultural situations. Even the language is skewed by the perspective of the dominant group.

Still, I have found that Afro-American folklore has often been of more use to me in understanding and responding to difficulties than professional scholarly works. Usually Afro-American folklore succinctly describes the circumstances in a humorous but realistic manner, and proceeds to advocate a course of action based on "mother wit" and common sense. Perhaps you have adages passed along in your family which you might like to add.

MAJOR SOURCES OF STRESS AND COPING STRATEGIES OF BLACK ADMINISTRATORS AT WHITE UNIVERSITIES

Howard P. Ramseur

One key issue confronting black administrators at predominantly white universities and one often discussed by them is job-related stress. In order to better understand the issue this paper examines the major sources of job-related stress for black administrators at white universities and the successful coping strategies used by them to deal with that stress. Its findings are based on a review of the professional literature, interviews with a half-dozen successful male and female black administrators in the Boston area, and the author's personal and clinical experience.

Stress is a term used by disciplines ranging from civil engineering to psychology. However, particularly in the social sciences, it is a term and concept without an agreed upon general definition or clarity; one for which different theorists have emphasized many different aspects of the problem. In order to be useful in understanding the situation of black administrators the concept of stress needs to be focused on the interaction of the person and the environment. That is, stress can most usefully be seen as a state experienced by the person that arises out of the interaction of his personality characteristics, perceptions, and environmental demands that he perceives as threatening. Stated more formally, stress is a state of the person caused by environmental demands that the person perceives as ones he or she must adapt to (i.e., must do something about) and as a threat (at least potentially) to important goals or values. A coping strategy is simply a way to adapt to and overcome stress. The term stressor will be used synonymously with sources of stress.

Clearly, to be an administrator in higher education in 1982 is to face job-related stress. And as black administrators tell it, based on their experience, to be a black administrator, particularly at a white university, is to face an even higher level of job-related stress. Until now that observation rested solely on anecdotal evidence from black administrators; however, a recent Ph.D. dissertation supplies substantial empirical support for it. Earnest Friday, in a 1980 dissertation, examined job-related psychosocial stress among 73 (of a total of 135) black male and female administrators and a random sample of all white administrators (100) in a Deep South state university system. The system had nine universities, eight of which were predominantly white. Friday used a standard anxiety inventory to measure job-related anxiety in both groups of administrators and used anxiety level as an indicator of stress. He found 1) black administrators experienced more job-related stress than did white administrators; 2) job-related stress was most highly experienced by black men, followed by black women, who were significantly more stressed than white women, with white men being the least stressed group.

Friday's dissertation is the most systematic and rigorous in the area to date and is of more than academic interest. Other researchers have linked job-related stress, caused by work over-load, role ambiguity, or role conflict, to heightened levels of depression, lower job satisfaction, increased coronary heart disease (CHD) risk factors, and possibly higher incidence of CHD. (See Cooper and Marshall, pp. 81-89) Especially ominious for black administrators was the finding that for white collar workers, role conflict, being in a job where the recipient received conflicting behaviorial demands from important figures or groups at work, was significantly linked to increased signs of coronary heart disease. Given black administrators' higher level of stress, their classic role conflict of having to serve black and white constituencies, and black Americans' high incidence of hypertension, the increased vulnerability of black administrators seems clear.

Friday's study did not specify the environmental demands that were sources of the stress experienced by black administrators or how black administrators might lower the level of stress experienced and increase their job satisfaction. This paper will address those issues by examining general sources of stress, stressors associated with the organizational climate of the university and work relationships there that were experienced by nearly all black administrators: stressors associated with the specific positions held by black administrators; and successful coping strategies used by individual black administrators.

General Stressors

Four general sources of stress, associated with the coming of black administrators to white universities in the early 1970's because of the protests of black students, their small numbers and dispersal at most universities, and racist and sexist acts or expectations emerge from the literature and interviews with black administrators. They are (1) having to cope with two constituencies (and the equivalent of three jobs); (2) the sense of being on "permanent probation" at work and under heightened scrutiny; (3) having an "outsider" status or sense of being invisible at the university; (4) direct or subtle racist/sexist acts and expectations.

Two Constituencies/Three Jobs: Every black administrator knows that he must perform at his job and perform well above his white colleagues. What many don't realize at first is that they have two other demanding jobs as well. Whether their primary position has a minority or majority focus, the black administrator's second job is coping with the expectations and demands of black students, faculty, and staff and balancing them against the expectations of the university administration. No matter what his formal position the black administrator will feel the pressures of his fellow blacks to become involved in activities to aid the black community at the university and external to it. In times of crisis he will receive blunt, direct demands for involvement or perhaps to oppose university decisions or policy seen to be detrimental to the black community. At the same time the college administration usually has the expectation that an administrator will support university policy and give it his full allegiance. While a black administrator always has to confront the issue of how much of his or her time and energy to devote to his formal job and how much to activities in the black community, in times of racial confrontation the issues can become those of job security or advancement, basic allegiance, and racial identity. Some black administrators opt to avoid the issue of two constituencies altogether by adopting a stance that they are color-blind and no more involved in "minority-issues" than any other administrator. Most, seeing that stance as unworkable, attempt to maintain credibility in the larger community and their own black identity by juggling the demands of both. John Turner, Associate Dean of the Graduate School at M.I.T., refers to it as being analogous to "belonging to two churches at the same time: one Catholic and the other old-fashioned Baptist-- two churches with different dress codes, languages, rituals, beliefs, and cultural values that at times confront each other."

The black administrator who is interested in moving upward at a white university has a third job: involvement in university-wide activities (committees, research projects) or issues. To gain credibility and break out of the professional isolation black administrators typically find themselves in, a number of upwardly mobile black administrators become involved in university-wide activities that don't have a minority focus. They see it as part of the dues-paying process, and as a necessary addition to their formal jobs and black oriented activities.

On "Permanent Probation": A common set of observations expressed by black administrators revolves around what's been called a sense of being on "permanent probation" (after Moore and Wagstaff, 1974). The central issue involves a questioning of the competence and preparation of the black administrator by white colleagues and supervisors. Their common expectation seems to be that the black administrator was hired or advanced soley to fill an affirmative action goal and is otherwise unqualified. Often combined with being the only black in his or her unit this underlying question about competence and performance leads black administrators to observe that they are under heightened scrutiny by superiors and colleagues --"In a spotlight," as one administrator put it. The black administrator's style of dress, office furnishings, casual remarks, comings and goings, and office memos are given extraordinary attention and comment by co-workers.

Decision-making by the black administrator seems to make this issue particularly salient: while good work is often recognized, given his high visibility and the underlying questions about competence, the black administrator's questionable or mistaken judgments count against him more and are more prominent than those of a white administrator. Orders given or negative decisions made that involved white employees or clients were the most frequent causes of controversy or higher-level scrutiny of black administrators' decisions. Several black administrators mentioned administrative controversies they became embroiled in after making negative decisions about a white male client or employee. In two cases there was an appeal to higher (white) authority because of a "poor" decision; in one case after a direct attack on the authority and competence of the black manager. Both instances were resolved in favor of the black manager, but both managers felt the controversies had left lingering doubts about their decision-making abilities.

While direct challenges by whites are infrequent, having white clients or co-workers go to a black manager's superior for decisions that are appropriately his or hers, i.e., the "end run," seems relatively common. Being approached only about matters and decisions involving minorities whether or not his job has a minority focus is another common experience reported by black administrators. Many black administrators react to these environmental threats by becoming more vigilant about their behavior and decisions at work and attempting to produce more than their white peers. Some attempt to achieve perfection, and therefore avoid any area of vulnerability, an attempt bound to lead to higher job stress.

"Outsider" Status: Black administrators in interviews and the literature talk about being an "alien in the promised land," "not accepted," and isolated at white universities. Black administrators, especially those in black-focused positions, report being professionally and socially isolated from white colleagues because of racism and being perceived to be focused on and only knowledgeable about "black" issues. Isolation means not being included in the professional and policy grapevine that gives an administrator clues to upcoming events and information to be exchanged with others. Black administrators also report often being excluded from the social events outside of work that lead to friendships, policy discussions, and information on jobs and funding. They are also typically excluded from the policy-making process, until after key decisions are made; and therefore left without real impact on the direction and mission of the university. The isolation of black administrators leaves the stereotypes and practices of many white administrators intact and unchallenged, and narrows the upward mobility options of black administrators.

Racist/Sexist Acts and Expectations: Black administrators report direct racist acts, such as racial slurs, open denial of employment or advancement based on race, or direct denials of invitations to clubs or social events, to be uncommon. More subtle or indirect acts, stereotypes, or expectations seem to be more common stressors for black administrators. Indirect questioning of one's competence and credibility, one's abilities as a decision-maker and manager, and concerns about advocacy or racial "militancy" are examples of those more common, racially-based, stressors.

Black male administrators often report incidents and experiences that arise out of white stereotypes of black males' heightened sexuality, aggressiveness, and lack of trustworthiness. In the charged atmospheres of some units the highly visible and scrutinized male black administrator's requests for greater efficiency from a secretary or a compliment on a female coworker's stylish outfit can be and have been the basis for reprimands concerning "rudeness and aggressiveness with the staff" or charges of sexual harassment. Even if successfully refuted the charges leave a lingering aura of being "controversial" surrounding the black male administrator.

The black female administrator's situation is more complex in many ways than her male counterpart because of the additional burden of sexist acts and expectations. Sources of stress often mentioned are the tiny number of black women who are administrators, their concentration in the lower ranks, and the lack of successful models and precedents for black women. In addition, the questions about competence and credibility raised about black males are compounded for black women. Particularly when she is a decision-maker or in a position as a manager the black woman's ability to perform is questioned. Questions like will her judgment be clouded by emotional factors, can she keep her home life and domestic responsibilities separated from her work, will pregnancy interupt her service, can she manage white (and black) male workers effectively without "alienating" them? She faces the full range of sexist stereotypes along with the racial ones.

The Black Administrator's Particular Position or Role: Black administrators often point to the particular types of positions that blacks hold at white universities as possessing inherent stressors. Three types of positions are mentioned most frequently: 1) Black focused; e.g., director of a black studies department, or a minority education service, 2) "Assistant to X," e.g., assistant to the college dean for minority affairs or recruitment

3) traditional line positions (with majority focus); e.g., college dean, provost, personnel director. Each type of position is seen as usually carrying with it particular stressors and potentials for the black administrator.

The Black-Focused Position: The most prominently mentioned stressors are the complex and largely negative organizational environment of black-focused units and blocks to career development and mobility. Black-focused units are usually not part of the traditional university hierarchy; they typically report directly to a high level administrator (e.g., provost or dean) who doesn't closely monitor their operations or hold them accountable for meeting their goals. In addition, they usually depend substantially on "soft" money, and are seen as "natural" advocates for black students or staff on campus. These arrangements usually leave the unit without organic connections with any line organization or perceived ties to the overall mission of the university. Black administrators in these units also see the needs of black students and staff first hand and know their units are underfunded to adequately handle them. These organizational realities reinforce the sense of isolation, and of working with people and problems that are not valued by the rest of the university, held by many black administrators in these units. They also add to the black administrator's dilemma about career mobility: What long-term career prospects are there within black-focused units? In an era of Reaganomics, retrenchment on Affirmative Action, and potentially declining black student enrollments many black administrators see them as bleak.

The Postions of Assistant to the Dean or to the President for Minority, Urban or Community Affairs: These positions arose in response to the student turmoil of the late 1960's and early 1970's. The person in this role can often mediate racial conflict at the university, promote new programs for minorities, and be an advocate for minority interests at higher levels. However, many observers comment on the inherent difficulities in the position: the lack of independent authority and resources, the need to check back and monitor the opinions of the chief, and the possible dilemma of having to support university policies that have a negative impact on the black community and still maintain one's integrity and credibility. This position also requires active effort to resist being stereotyped as interested in only one area and not in the overall success of the university. The issue of career development is important too: the "assistant to" can become the chief, but that isn't the usual pattern. Not moving,going to a black institution, or moving to another kind of organization are seen as more common patterns.

Traditional Line Position: The black administrator in a traditional line position has his or her own authority and resources, usually manages an area that is non-minority focused and a staff that is predominantly white. Being part of the line structure makes questions of career mobility, authority and control of resources, and the perception of not being tied to the mission of the university less salient. Some observers, most notably Calvert Smith, Vice Provost at the University of Cincinnati (1980), feel that traditional line-positions are the only ones that allow resolution of the problems facing black administrators. Other observers point to the usual isolation and heightened scrutiny that these black managers work under and the sense of being on probation as inherently stressful aspects of these positions. Black managers in these positions also report needing to work hard to maintain communication and credibility in the black community and their own sense of black identity. They also note that they face racism in the evaluation and promotion process, which makes career mobility more problematic than it might at first seem.

Coping Strategies

Given the stressors, both organizational and job-specific, that black administrators confront, how can they successfully deal with them? The research literature and successful black administrators point to a number of individual and organizational ways to minimize stress and to heighten job effectiveness and satisfaction which can be labeled coping strategies. Three major types of successful coping strategies emerge: realism about the self and the organization , developing support systems, and monitoring and maintaining physical and mental health.

Realism: Successful black administrators as a group had few illusions about their personal situation or prospects at the university. A summary of their remarks might be, "I know what I want (and need) from my career and present job, how I'll get it, I know the dues I'll have to pay, and I'm personally able and willing to pay them."

These black administrators had confronted the fact of institutional and individual racism and acknowledged it would affect them. That kind of realistic assessment enabled them to anticipate probable difficulties arising from racist (and sexist) stereotypes and expectations. Several noted that in anticipating questions regarding their competence and decision-making abilities they realized that they would have to work harder and more successfully than their white counterparts. They also saw the need to assert and demonstrate early on that they were in charge and knew their jobs.

An analysis of and plan for their 5 year and longer-range career goals was another common tactic used by black administrators. The level of salary, authority and resources they wanted, the type of organization they wanted to work in, as well as what they needed out of their work to feel satisfied were key areas. They examined their current positions and organizations for sources of support, possible career mobility paths (upwards, sideways, through expansion of interests or skills, or out), and conditions under which they would feel it necessary to leave as well.

Some black administrators spoke of finding and developing personal attributes and skills that were compatible with career goals and success. As a group, successful black administrators were notably self-directed and active. That is, they seemed to have a personal plan and goals for their careers and more generally. They also tended to have a high level of professional self-confidence ("I can do the job well"), and were reasonably self-assertive with colleagues and staff. Their realism about the self and the environment, noted above, was another salient characteristic.

Support Systems: The need for supportive others to maintain self-confidence and energy and to exchange information and maintain perspective on one's position was universally mentioned by black administrators. Support could come from a number of sources at work (and from the family). The supervisor was cited as one potential source of support. Working out clear goals and expectations as well as standards of evaluation with one's supervisor was mentioned as a successful means of handling "end-runs" by staff and facilitating upward mobility. Maintaining good communications and keeping the supervisor informed of emerging problems was another useful aspect of the same technique.

A mentor, or as some said, a "Godfather", was another important source of support frequently mentioned. A mentor was simply someone higher up who could make a difference in an administrator's career by alerting him to opportunities or problems that were emerging, how he and his decisions were perceived in the organization, and someone who could serve as a protector in organizational battles. A relatively trusting, supportive relationship with a higher-up also enhanced the black administrator's prestige and lessened his isolation in the organization. Finding and developing a mentor relationship required time and tactful interpersonal negotiations on the part of the black administrator, but was seen as well worth the effort.

Because isolation from the professional gossip grapevine and policy making process was a problem, working out a network of black and white colleagues with whom to exchange information was a usual goal for successful black administrators. Not only co-workers, but key secretaries and administrative assistants around the university were found to be vital sources of information. Joining or developing an association of black administrators, either at the university or area-wide, was another useful way to gain information and support. Other black administrators could also help give perspective and realistic advice on a situation or incident and at times act as advocates.

Monitoring and Maintaining Physical and Mental Health: All the successful black administrators mentioned techniques for maintaining their physical and mental health. Many were based on common sense: e.g., maintaining a liveable work/family balance, or as one put it "make sure your kids remember what you look like." Taking several vacations during the year that got one away from work problems was another. Maintaining the ability to rebound from stressful conditions was a goal frequently mentioned. Techniques like making sure they got enough sleep, regular physical exercise, outside of work social interests or hobbies, and relaxation techniques like meditation were commonly used.

From their own observations and experiences some black administrators pointed to several health areas they thought important to monitor. Signs of high blood pressure or other cardiovascular diseases, given black Americans' higher incidence of these disorders, was one. An increase in self-medication--more drinking after ordinary work hours, "getting high" more frequently, a greater intake of minor tranquilizers--was seen as a warning sign of not coping well with a stressful situation. Other observers have pointed to deepening depression and heightened suspiciousness as psychological signs of an administrator's failing ability to cope. They point out that if signs of depression-on-going pessimism, lower self-confidence, lower energy level and zest for work, changes in weight and sleep problems, or increased mistrustfulness of the actions and motives of co-workers don't change after an administrator examines his situation and tries his usual techniques to handle stress, then professional intervention should be promptly sought.

In spite of the general and job-specific stressors they faced, all the successful black administrators interviewed, and many others cited in the literature stated that they enjoyed their jobs most of the time. Most gained special satisfaction from helping black students and staff at their university and felt they had developed effective ways to cope with the stress they faced there.

ORGANIZATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO STRESS: BLACK ADMINISTRATORS AT WHITE INSTITUTIONS. ISSUES OF COMPETENCE AND PERSONALITY FACTORS

Lawrence J. Dark

> "Life is difficult ... what makes life
> difficult is that the process of confronting
> and solving problems is a painful one ... yet
> it is in this whole process of meeting and
> solving problems that life has its meaning."
> M. Scott Peck

In June of 1982, at the IBM Office in Bethesda, Maryland, Edward Thomas Mann, a graduate of Morehouse College and a former IBM employee (earning about $40,000 a year in 1977), was charged with killing and wounding several IBM employees. Mann had filed a discrimination suit against IBM in 1977, but the D.C. Human Rights Commission dismissed it, saying there was no probable cause. An IBM spokesman stated, "We take every possible means to insure that our managers do not discriminate in hiring or promotions, all of which are based on merit." Shortly after word of the shooting at IBM spread nationwide, a manager of one of the large Fortune 500 companies sent the company president an internal memo asking, rhetorically, whether such a tragedy could happen in any one of their locations. The manager's own reluctant conclusion was that it probably could happen. His assessment of the situation -- it was definitely related to stress.

Seemingly, in corporations throughout the country, complaints about race are often virtually taboo. On the surface, blacks and whites get along; yet blacks find the silence on race issues oppressive because "their careers and morale are affected by this thing that they cannot mention." Meanwhile, many whites seem to feel that blacks ought to be happy to be there in the first place.

This scenario is transferable to the plight of black administrators in higher education at predominantly white colleges and universities. To date, there are no accounts of black college or university administrators killing anyone, but they have killed themselves from the sense of isolation, loneliness, alienation, insecurity and uselessness that they must encounter at their respective institutions daily.

Black administrators, whether they are line officers or staff members, can still be considered new arrivals at predominantly white colleges and universities. They arrive at these institutions where the traditions were established and are maintained by the same racial group responsible for the evils of slavery and the injustices of segregation. In addition to the normal anxieties all people experience over their ability to perform, blacks on white campuses harbor suspicions about the bases for the judgments made about them. These suspicions are equally reinforced by prejudicial judgments as by condescending ones. At the same time as their suspicions are confirmed and the desire to retaliate strengthened, blacks on white campuses want to excel in their chosen professions. This leads to the continuing conflict between the drive to "retaliate" and the desire to function effectively within an apparently hostile environment. To function effectively requires a trust, not so much in ultimate fairness or even the desire to treat people fairly; but a trust that white institutions are amenable to expanding their environment to include the cultural, intellectual, and social traditions of their black population. Concern for survival - social, emotional and intellectual - requires that most blacks define their goals on white campuses very minimally, thereby reducing the probability of disappointment because a trust has been misplaced. (Snowden, 1978)

Despite the focus of the last decade on racial problems in our country, there is still a great need for the education of the white higher education community on minority group problems. The emerging short-sighted commentary among white academics that "incompetent" black administrators are taking jobs from "competent" whites is causing undue stress and frustration on this talented group of professionals.

There is growing concern among black administrators that ostensibly racially-chauvinistic attitudes on predominantly white campuses are resurfacing openly and loudly. The DeFunis and Bakke cases, which addressed black students gaining access and matriculation in higher education, gave white academia ammunition to attack affirmative action in the recruitment and selection of black administrators and faculty members. On some campuses, the relationship between black and white administrators is strained; this can be attributed to the racial nemesis of society in general. In a period increasingly characterized by open racial assault and institutional retreat from prior commitments to civil and human rights, blacks on white campuses are rethinking their decisions to be associated with these institutions and what this climate is doing to them professionally and personally. Black administrators perceive problems ranging from condescension to insensibility. There has been namecalling, harassment, dissuasion from advancement, lack of cooperation, use of authority to weaken and dismantle programs under black leadership, and dismissal. The consequences have been anger, loss of image and intimidation. There are subtle stress effects which result from racism. Although small or almost unnoticed, the cumulative effect of such stress can be deadly. As one noted black psychiatrist said, "I am twenty times more likely to contract hypertension than my white counterpart." (Moore and Wagstaff, 1974)

Two sources of stress among black administrators at predominantly white colleges and universities are confronting daily the issues of competency and personality factors. The aim of this paper is to highlight and analyze how these two issues are expressed and can be linked to race, and also to suggest some ways to resolve and cope with them.

Forms of Stress

Before discussing the issues of competency and personality factors, we need to understand the various forms of stress that can have an impact on black administrators. Quality of life depends to a large extent on a "good person fit" and an "environment fit," that is, satisfaction of needs and congruency between abilities and demands, and between expectations and perception of reality. Conversely, "a poor person fit" and an "environment fit," which can occur at different environmental levels, is almost invariably stress-provoking. If the discrepancy between personal needs and expectations and environment persists, physical, mental or social dysfunction is likely to result. (Levi, 1981)

As a result of "the black experience," a disproportionate number of blacks live under moderate to severe economic and social stress. While most do not understand the precise mechanism by which institutions and their leaders have failed to make opportunities available, many keenly feel a sense of denial -- in employment, education and other spheres of life. These conditions reflect badly on the majority population, leading to denial or rationalization of the causes and consequences of unjust policies and practices on black Americans. With little political or economic power and little control over information development and dissemination, blacks are not able to interpret their experience in a way and on a scale large enough to counter societal rationalizations. This serves to minimize any effort to compensate for past injustices. It also permits the phenomenon known as "blaming the victim," even self-blame by victims. Victim performance and behavior serve to perpetuate the vicious cycle by reinforcing the denial and rationalizations used by many in the majority population. This, in turn, deepens black anger and rage toward the larger society, or, because of self-blame, causes anger toward other blacks and the self. (Comer, 1981)

Most black administrators at predominantly white colleges and universities can be considered "middle-class." But even this group of individuals can not fully avoid the negative implications and psychological consequences of minority status in America. Access to and identification with institutions and institutional leaders in society is not easy, and the related sense of psychosocial well-being cannot be experienced to the same degree as in the majority population, regardless of the income or status of the minority person. Many educated blacks lack a comfortable sense of belonging to the larger society, which can be a significant source of stress.

Because the black middle-income population is largely professional and clerical, rather than business and/or managerial, it has not been in the position to provide increased opportunity for the entire group, only to petition for it. As a result, white is still associated with power and black with relative powerlessness. (Cormer, 1981)

There are two stress-producing social structures that have a direct bearing on black administrators at predominantly white institutions: they are uprooting and dehumanization of societal institutions. (Levi, 1981) Uprooting deprives individuals and groups of experiences and material means that provide emotional support, a sense of belonging and purpose in life. Migration and resettlement, rural poverty, urban slums and cultural displacement are all stress-producing components of uprooting, which strip the individual of supportive surroundings crucial to successful coping. For example, on a rural campus in upstate New York, about 100 black students and six faculty live among nearly 7,000 white students. The closest town has less than one percent black population. "If a college is located in an isolated atmosphere, it reinforces the isolation for both blacks and whites. When music groups are invited, the black students would prefer Smokey Robinson over Kiss. Since more black females attend college than black men, the black female has difficult choices. Then you have church availability - then there is the problem of food." When Edward Jackson, an English professor at SUNY at Oswego made these comments at the 1982 conference of the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education, black professionals who were assembled in the room were laughing, but their laughter was full of painful recognition. (see Trescott) This is a form of "uprooting" and can produce stress. Stress, in the form of dehumanization, comes about when needed services are provided impersonally and mechanically, ignoring the total being and without consideration of individual differences.

From a psychological, psychosocial perspective, the stressful impact of an event depends upon the meaning it has for the individual. Bearing this in mind, it becomes readily apparent that what is meaningful for one person may not be meaningful for another. Whether or not a situation is meaningful and potentially stress-producing depends on the individual's past history and the coping devices available to the individual to deal with internal conflict and challenging environmental situations. (Reiser, 1980) Therefore, value judgments can not be made about the perceptions black administrators have on the issues of competency and personality factors as they experience them on white campuses. One group's view of a stressful situation may not be another group's view. It is, therefore, important that all groups on a college campus respect and listen to each other. If, in the view of a group, a situation or an event is deemed stressful, and that situation or event is brought to the attention of the campus community which is causing the strained relations, the label "paranoid" should never be the first response or the only defense.

Issues of Competency

The troubles of many administrators, black or white, begin during the period in which they are being chosen for the job. This is true in cases of open competition, as well as political appointments. For the black administrator seeking entrance to a predominantly white college or university, the issue of competency starts when the individual reads the advertisement for the position. The first questioning of the black applicant's competency goes as follows: "University X seeks a Vice President of Business and Financial Affairs...applications are encouraged from qualified minorities and women." How can this be stress-producing? Have you ever seen an advertisement for qualified white applicants, maybe for the Ku Klux Klan? In all seriousness, a stigma - a class stratification - has been enunciated in the job announcement. The black applicant internalizes the message gotten from the announcement. Some will never submit applications, sensing that they are not of that "select" group of minorities who should apply; some will conclude that the institution might be having problems, especially with EEOC or some other federal agency that might be threatening to cut off federal funds if more blacks are not hired.

The concept of "qualified" is probably one of the most damaging assaults and insults on blacks in higher education. "We cannot find qualified blacks." No statement made by white educators so infuriates blacks as this comment, especially the word "qualified." Blacks feel that the word has been vulgarized and simplified; it is full of political ambiguity; and as it has passed from person to person, it has been the basis for academic prejudice. It has allowed educators to reject the entry of blacks, other non-whites, and women into higher education. It has permitted administrators to rationalize and justify inequitable behavior. And it embodies many contradictions. Where the college officials on one campus maintain that they cannot find qualified blacks, the officials on another campus in the same state or city can find all of the black staff they are seeking. The problem with the concept of "qualified" is that no one seems to know what it means, except the person who uses it and those who are the victims of its use. Minority group members have effectively been denied access to higher education because of various definitions of "qualified." Black educators indicate that they never hear the word "qualified" applied to candidates for positions in their colleges unless the candidates are black. In short, the term "qualified" has become the rhetoric of rejection for blacks, an implicit assumption that a black will not be competent. And all over they see college people embed the word in the most cabalistic parliamentary machinations to deny blacks entry into the world of higher education. (Moore and Wagstaff, 1974:28) These are but a few of the reasons why the word "qualified" can be stressful and emotional. Moreover, many white faculty and administrators believe that job positions filled by blacks do not require any particular skill except a vaguely defined public relations aptitude. This type of rationale makes them automatically deny the competence of new black faculty and administrators. (Pouissaint, 1974)

The other statement that infuriates blacks and can be stress-provoking is, "the blacks we have been able to locate have been over-qualified for the job." A participant in a Moore and Wagstaff survey states, "Man, my wife was pregnant, we only had enough money left to pay a month's rent, and I was standing there, in the middle of my wardrobe, fresh out of graduate school. The little man sat there, a king above all the Gods, and told me I was over-qualified for the job. As much as I resented him, I felt sorry for a guy who combs his hair over his bald spot because he can't face reality. If white administrators never learn anything else, I hope to God they learn better than to tell a man who needs a job that he is too qualified to work." (Moore and Wagstaff, 1974)

It is not a compliment, but hypocrisy of the highest order to tell a man who wants a job and who wants to work that he is over-trained, and it can produce stress in the individual. Some administrators use this tactic to leave a rejected applicant feeling good. If the intent is to spare his or her feelings, avoid the truth, or hide bigotry, this strategy accomplishes the exact opposite effect: it insults the intelligence of the candidate. If the candidate cannot do the job, then he or she should not be hired. To refuse employment because a black candidate has more skill than the job calls for should not be a decision for the employer but for the candidate, unless the candidate requests salary remuneration and other benefits in excess of what the job offers. A candidate deserves to know the true reason why he or she is not selected. Many blacks work hard to become qualified as the academic community prescribes, only to be told that they are too qualified for the job.

If a black emerges as the final selection of the search committee, it should be a time of celebration, for no educator is chosen more carefully. But what is ahead for the black administrator at a predominantly white college or university will make the individual question the choice made to associate with the institution. For his performance will be watched more closely than his white colleagues, his competency will be under scrutiny constantly, and he will continually have to prove himself a capable and effective administrator. The black administrator who emerges from the rigorous search and screening process would assume he was hired because he was competent. But the black administrator soon learns that he exists almost independently in white academia and has to endure a variety of insults and generally is judged incapable. (Moore and Wagstaff, 1974:35) He is still asked about being black, about the black lifestyle, and about the black experience and what makes it unique; he is asked to explain and justify being black.

In this day of affirmative action, the minority administrator often must live with subtle and not so subtle suggestions that he or she holds the job simply because he or she is black. Racist attitudes and responses to black administrators are acted out in a variety of ways -- disregard for the minority administrator's ideas and suggestions, persistent informal encroachment on territory, formal encroachment through reorganization which decreases the power of the minority administrator and reduces the amenities and opportunities which go with the position, and on and on. Even when it is relatively easy to block such behavior, having to repeatedly respond to it is a source of stress. On the other hand, one cannot always be sure when slights and attacks are racially motivated - the uncertainty itself being stressful.

The dearth of minority administrators and the requirements of affirmative action often require the minority administrator to serve "beyond the call of duty" -- on committees, working with students, informal consultants, formal consultants, and so on. Often the black administrator is called upon for speaking, consulting, or social engagements, including a range of situations from addressing the local NAACP for the black history program to attending receptions for black professionals that are being considered for positions in some industry in the area, to helping to find housing for new black faculty or staff, to serving on the board of directors of numerous organizations within the county and state - all the time while trying to keep up with activities and literature in his professional field. The time and energy demands of the black administrator are great, but he is still judged not competent, not really on a par with his white colleagues. (Woodard, 1978:8)

Often the black administrator is not given a clear and concrete description of his duties and responsibilities. In many instances he finds most of his assignments are "minority affairs" related, regardless of the job he was hired to do, he notices that duties and responsibilities that were formerly a part of his position are reassigned to others in the administration, frequently white administrators. These practices by many white colleges and universities are subtle ways of judging the black administrator incompetent or incapable of handling anything but minority-related concerns. There are even instances where some of the black administrator's functions are reassigned to a secretary!

At this juncture it would appear that if blacks are experiencing any of these situations on white campuses, there is a "poor person/environment fit;" thus, this can become a stress-producing occurrence. Every black administrator has personal needs and expectations that he wants satisfied when he accepts a position. If the predominantly white institution persists in questioning his competency and continually tries to undermine his abilities, physical, mental or social dysfunction is likely to result. Many black administrators could internalize the responses of this environment and begin to see themselves as incompetent and, worse, inferior.

Personality Factors

Clerical and Support Staff/Community:

Few will deny that a good secretary is a priceless staff member. Too many of them, however, are neither exceptional nor invaluable. Many come from backgrounds which have shaped their behavior and attitudes in ways which are negative to blacks. The black administrator may initially experience sloppy work, a lack of confidentiality, hostility, maternalism and other undesirable behavior which he is expected to tolerate. (Moore and Wagstaff, 1974) The grounds crew, cafeteria help, and maintenance staff may also respond to him in much the same way. Too often, these individuals are quick to inform him and others that their supervisors have informed them that he is not their boss and cannot tell them what to do.

A number of black administrators experience stress the first time they have whites working under them. They want to please, to be a friend to the worker, but the worker wants desperately to remain a professional. If the black administrator works in a small town, he has a right to be cautious in his interactions with the support staff because most of them are related, and if he offends one of the workers, he may find that he has offended an entire family. The black administrator will wonder why the work is not getting typed properly, why memos are constantly sent to the wrong offices, why mail that is to be sent outside the school is several days or weeks late leaving the campus and why orders for supplies are only half-filled. This is somewhat an exaggeration, but nepotism in the clerical and support staff is great on many campuses and maneuvering through the maze of personalities can be a source of stress.

Community

Another personality factor that is a source of stress can be the local community in which the black administrator attempts to reside. Locating housing in many communities surrounding predominantly white colleges and universities is often by word-of-mouth. Since blacks usually arrive in these communities with no contacts, they encounter difficulty with landlords not wanting to rent to them. Simply stated, the "town folk" do not want blacks in their houses. For example, a black woman was appointed an administrator at a small college in a somewhat rural community. She had to live out of a suitcase for more than a month, at various homes, because no one would rent to her. When there was a listing in the local paper for vacancies, she would call to verify that housing was still available, but when she would arrive to inspect the house, it was always taken. She would use the "sandwich approach," which means after she attempted to get a particular place which she was told was taken, she would send a white colleague; frequently the housing was available to that individual. This caused her to have self-doubts. She did not know whether she had said something wrong, or was not dressed properly when she met the landlords. She did not want to conclude that it was racism initially, but after a month of this behavior she had to attribute the actions of the landlords to racism. Housing can be a barrier to employment of black administrators in many college communities, even with fair housing laws on the books. The local judges, lawyers, federal employees in HUD or even the human relations commission members are often related to landlords. The black administrator wants to be professional when he arrives in the community, but the attitudes and sterotyping he encounters can cause stress, particularly if the college has not educated and prepared the college community and local community for black professionals.

Students

Colleges and universities exist for the education of students, and students can cause stress for black administrators. Black students expect black administrators to be one or more of the following: friends, guidance counselors, academic advisors, job placement officers, mentors, spokesmen, companions, clergymen, clerks, as well as boosters in times of trouble and congratulators in times of success. In a study of eight high schools and colleges, it was summarized that black students expect a black administrator or faculty member on a white campus to be a combination politician, social director, ombudsman, and problem solver. (Tucker, 1980) He is not expected to go by the book entirely or necessarily to deal only with black students. Black students will test whether a black administrator is "black enough." If, in carrying out his duties and responsibilities, a black administrator must side with white staff against black students, he could be labeled Uncle Tom or an "Oreo." If the black administrator is not always fighting for the rights of black students, black students will feel that he is not competent, that he is not doing his job. The bottom line is too many students, but not a majority, will pose the question to the black administrator, "Brother, are you on our side?" In the black administrator's effort to be professional, meaning fair and objective, he will be caught in a dilema over issues that are important to black students. This causes a strain on his credibility, and hence stress can develop.

Most black students are no different from white colleagues who do not know all the work black administrators are doing. Efforts of the black administrator on behalf of minority students, faculty, personnel and programs are usually not visible or dramatic. They take place in committee meetings, informal associations, and through confidential actions required to protect individuals involved. It is important -- and another source of anxiety and stress -- for the black administrator to monitor his or her actions where issues of group loyalty are involved. (Woodard, 1978:7)

Blacks vs. Blacks

Another unfortunate source of personality problems that cause stress for black administrators are other black administrators, faculty and staff. These relationships can be divided into three categories. (See Wilson)

Deficient Communication In this situation, inter-black communication is nonexistent, or, at best, slow or weak. It is often on an irregular basis, and rarely in private where meaningful disclosures can be expressed. Also, it is frequently impaired by meaningless rhetoric and diplomatic diversions. Too often one party does not want to initiate discussion -- "Let her see me, she knows where my office is" -- and invariably there is an abundance of reliance on the "grapevine" gossip or second-hand information. This practice can only impede unification, which is still needed if blacks are to survive and cope on white campuses.

Gender Domination Black professionals engage in a "battle of the sexes." Usually, the most catastrophic occurrence is when a powerful black female overtly dominates less powerful "ego-threatened" black males. Additionally, gender conflict is occasioned when a less powerful black female goes to any length to prove her equality to black male professionals. Any black person who has to prove himself or herself to other black colleagues as one has to do with white colleagues will inevitably experience stress. A concerted effort is needed by black men and black women to combat racism. There is nothing the black man need fear from the black female. Neither has power, and there is nothing to "protect" from each other. (Mosley, 1980) Our past survival is due in large measure to the incredible skills, persistence, and courage black women have developed. Any forward movement we make as a people will require their best efforts. Leadership is needed; whether it emerges in women or men should not be an issue.

Age Alienation The "young" black administrator is looked at with suspicious eyes by both black and white colleagues. Some remarks made by "older" black administrators are stressful and humiliating for younger black administrators. Statements from older black administrators suggesting that they were truly qualified and that current efforts to increase minority membership on campus may adversely affect university standards are insensitive. Remarks like this come from older black administrators and faculty who aid and abet campus reactionaries and feel that potentially "unqualified" new black arrivals threaten their own status. (Poussaint , 1974:12) They are concerned that they will be lumped together with the newly arrived blacks under the category of "inferior", unqualified and incompetent. Again, divisions among black professionals because of insecurity and pettiness is stressful and destructive for all blacks on white campuses. No black administrator - line or staff officers - should feel too secure or above other blacks because of age or sex. Every black administrator can contribute some skill, knowledge or talent that can benefit black students on campus as well as the college community. This is not to say that black administrators who are not capable in their respective positions should be retained and that all blacks on campus should rally to support their retention. Blacks are just as concerned with competence, quality and productive work as are their white colleagues at predominantly white colleges and universities.

Conclusion

We live in a stress-ridden society, one in which survival itself means experiencing degrees of stress. The ability to perform well, hold one's own, and excel in competition is a fundamental challenge of adult life. The fact that most people are condemned to experiencing some sense of inadequacy in their lives constitutes a direct source of stress for most of us. (Woodard, 1978:13) If the individual is a black administrator at a predominantly white college or university, his potential for stress is multiplied many times over. The psychological impact of issues of competency and personality factors can take its toll. Even the most miniscule incident can take on grandiose proportions when the race element is involved.

Are there any solutions to alleviate the potential stress that black administrators may experience on white campuses? A sensitivity to the special dilemas that black administrators may face on white campuses should be a priority. This does not mean that black administrators want maternalism, tokenism, patronization or sympathy. They, like any professional, want sincerity, understanding and the opportunity to do the job they were hired to do. Too often, they cannot perform their duties because they have to wear many hats and play different roles, especially for black students because of the shortage of black administrators and faculty at the institution. Predominantly white colleges and universities must make a commitment to the principle of affirmative action, pursue it aggressively and hold all managers, supervisors, department heads, deans, vice presidents, and assistant chancellors accountable to increase black representation on campus. If white colleges and universities humanize their campuses and endeavor to analyze every probable source of stress, black administrators, specifically, and the college community, in general, will benefit.

For most white campuses, taking positive steps to eradicate the disease of institutional racism is key. "It hardly seems realistic for us to expect, or even hope, that the pattern of social relations should be any different on a college campus than it is in the 'real world'." There is no reason to suppose that prejudice and shortcomings of the larger society won't exist to the same degree at our institutions of higher learning. Yet, somehow, racism seems even uglier on the college campus than in other less idealistic settings. (See Harvey, 1981:56)

Too many black administrators are placed in positions and are refused or denied the power to make them effective. This is a waste of talent, skills and knowledge that could be used to make the institution stable and better managed. The black administrator cannot allow himself to be immobilized by the swirl of conflicting forces that may seem to engulf him, nor can he sit back in a position of power and be by-passed or ignored. Failure to act on problems and issues builds up stress and tension. Many administrators fall into the habit of administering by indecision.

White colleges and universities must accept the culture, and the experience that the black administrator brings to the campus. The black administrator often finds himself compromising, adapting and adopting some of the characteristics of his white colleagues in order to reduce stress and tension to smooth the road to acceptance, sometimes at the expense of his personal life. A black administrator's personal life should be an important source of satisfaction and support. A variety of activities outside the regular professional responsibilities with family, friends, or alone can be very important in reducing administrative stress. It is important that the white college environment is conducive to reducing suspicion, alienation, and anger among black administrators, white faculty and staff, black students, clerical and support staff, black men and women, old and young, and the local community in which the black administrator lives. Many stressful situations occur because black administrators often do not know where others are coming from or going.

Black administrators must maintain high standards in performing their work. This is not to say that they should be "super-black people," who cannot make a few mistakes or wrong decisions, but they must have confidence in their abilities and in themselves to diffuse stressful situations that arise based in part on issues of competency and personality factors. There is no substitute for competence or integrity. A genuine commitment to fairness, the ability to adapt to changing situations, the willingness to listen and the confidence to take stands on issues can be a source of comfort as the myriad of problems have to be confronted. Satisfaction should come to black administrators on white campuses in knowing they are learning and developing personally, and that they can take their skills and apply them in other institutions and organizations. (Woodard, 1978)

None of the approaches that has been offered can put to rest all the stress that blacks on white campuses experience. Administrative stress of black administrators will not adequately be reduced until the race question becomes a national priority so that adequate social policy can be developed.

"You may write me down in history
With your bitter, twisted lies,
You may trod me in the very dirt
But still, like dust, I'll rise.

. . . . .

Did you want to see me broken?
Bowed head and lowered eyes?
Shoulders falling down like teardrops,
Weakened by my soulful cries.

. . . . .

You may shoot me with your words,
You may cut me with your eyes,
You may kill me with your hatefulness,
But still, like air, I'll rise."

from Still I Rise,
by Maya Angelou

ORGANIZATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO STRESS IN BLACK ADMINISTRATORS: ISSUES OF COMPETENCE AND PERSONALITY FACTORS

Freddie L. Groomes

Ten years ago when I joined the central administration of the Florida State University, some of my friends asked, "Freddie, did you negotiate for hazardous duty pay?" The initial observation was made with tongue in cheek but with a serious implication because traditionally white institutions that were in the process of hiring either their first or their first few blacks in top administrative positions were opening doors, but the house was not always in order.

Subsequently, many of these "pioneer" administrators, (first black administrators on white campuses) experienced varying degrees of stress which could be attributed to the organization. I, therefore, consider it a great opportunity to discuss organizational contributions to stress in black administrators.

Dr. Hans Selye, considered to be one of the world's leading medical experts on stress, defined stress in 1956 as simply "the rate of wear and tear on the body." In 1974 he called stress "the body's nonspecific response to any demand made on it." Most physiologists broadly define stress as "an adaptive response in which your body prepares or adjusts to a threatening situation." The average person thinks of stress as something that causes tension. Dr. Selye suggests that stress is unavoidable. It cannot be eliminated from everyday life and according to him it would be very bad for us if we could eliminate stress totally from our lives. He justifies this by saying that stress is the spice of life; without it we would be dead. It is also ironic that he tells us that too much stress has the same effect. One might believe that stress is the spice of life but in some instances it is also the bitters of death. So for our purposes here, as we examine stress relative to organizations, let us use the definition that organizational stress is an adaptive response by black administrators based on the rate of tension, negative climate or elements of racism, sexism, unwelcomeness, ignorance and lack of respect generated by some nonblack colleagues and other people within and external to the organization.

Who are these colleagues and people? Often they are innocent, well-intentioned people who want to be helpful so they offer paternal assistance. They have never worked or interacted on a personal level with blacks of comparable skills and education. Some may assume that they are indeed brighter and must teach you and show you the proper approach to everything without ever determining from you your needs or willingness to accept such assistance.

Who are these colleagues and other people? Sometimes they are sophisticated, racist and sexist, who believe you were hired exclusively because you were black and that you took a position which belonged to some "good man" (traditional hire--white male). He or she therefore has some negative, unaccepting feelings and resentments.

Who are these colleagues and other people? They are community business folk who possibly decide if and how much credit you will get and therefore influence your access to certain neighborhoods. They are the local realtors and citizenry who define whether there is indeed operational open housing or forms of red-lining. They are the public and private school personnel where your children will attend school; they are the members of social and economic groups and organizations. They are those, all of whom you must interact with from time to time as you live and work in the community which houses your organization.

Who are these colleagues and other people? If you're lucky, they are individuals who realize that people are more alike than different and therefore practice the American ideal: respect for the worth and dignity of all people. They are themselves, competent, secure and unthreatened by the presence of someone who appears intellectually the same but physically different because he or she is black. They are people who accept, in other words, "the legitimacy of difference."

As a panelist, I was asked to "focus on my personal observations and perspectives concerning the competence of black administrators in white institutions as perceived by whites and as perceived by other blacks." On first glance, I was almost insulted by the implication of the assignment; that is, someone in 1982 still proposes that by nature blacks were less competent than whites.

Having been born some x number of years ago to negro parents living in a colored community and growing up to be a proud black woman who has attended and worked in traditionally black as well as traditionally white institutions, I have experienced some competent blacks and some competent whites. I have also experienced some incompetent blacks and some equally incompetent whites, and I find incompetence no matter what color or shape of the body it's housed in to be unproductive and in many ways damaging to an institution.

I, therefore, am going to slant my informal approach to the topic to accommodate my personal experiences and commitment to achieve and foster competence and high standards in organizations to insure that black administrators are less victimized by organizational contributions to stress. To do this I will discuss the Florida State University where I have spent the last ten years of my professional life in pursuits that are designed to enhance the status and utilization of minorities and women.

The Florida State University is a member of the State University System of Florida. It is one of nine institutions and is characterized as a senior research-oriented institution conferring both graduate and undergraduate degrees. It is located in Tallahassee, Florida, the capital city of Florida and shares the same with Florida A & M University (a traditionally black institution) and Tallahassee Community College. It enrolls approximately 22,000 students, 2000 plus of whom are black.

The institution is headed up by the president, Dr. Bernard Sliger,and four vice presidents: Vice President for Academic Affairs, Vice President for Administrative Affairs, Vice President for Student Affairs and Vice President for University Relations. The Vice President for Student Affairs is black. Blacks comprise 35 or 3.4 percent of the total 1,034 faculty. Of the total black faculty, 19 or 50 percent are tenured. Of the total administrative and professional employees, blacks constitute 19 or 5 percent.

As most certainly, if not all, higher education institutions, Florida State is not a perfect place, but one that has accepted its responsibility as a public institution to prepare students and render service in a pluralistic society. To that end, affirmative action is promoted as everybody's business and included among management objectives.

The Florida State University is immersed in a program of excellence, in other words, competence is a critical factor in all recruitment for staff and students. For purposes of this paper, further discussion will be limited to black administrators.

As a result of the work force analysis conducted back in 1972-73, it was determined that there existed an underutilization of blacks in the work force of the University. Subsequently, corrective action measures were devised to insure that the circumstances changed positively and in a timely fashion.

Job vacancies were identified; job descriptions were written and competence levels for successful operation were determined. Search and screening committees were appointed and briefed on University commitment to affirmative action.

The University's policy and procedures were announced to the total community, both university and surrounding areas. Educational programs and seminars were developed and operationalized to assist those who needed it in developing a greater appreciation of the worth and dignity of all people. Local radio and TV were involved. University publications and community newspapers assisted in advancing the concept.

A deliberate decision was made for a determined period of time to take aggressive action to hire blacks to some of the key administrative positions. This resulted in the timely hiring of very qualified black administrators in positions which included provost, dean of the College of Education, University Registrar, and more recently Vice President for Student Affairs. Other positions include Associate Dean of Students, Director of Co-op Program and Assistant Director of Community College Articulation. Very competent blacks are a part of the warp and woof of the institution and doing well to assist the Florida State University in its pursuit of excellence. The leadership for these actions, however, was deliberate and came from the top.

The decision to hire blacks at the Florida State University under no circumstances involved the compromising of standards. In fact, not just at Florida State University but it is perceived by many that throughout the country we are perhaps now hiring more qualified persons than we have in any other time in our history. Why? In many instances for the first time we have definitive job descriptions and comprehensive competency requirements, so we know a qualified person when we find one. Too, we are expanding our horizons in our searches and looking beyond the old boy system for candidates. Finally, the pool of qualified applicants is expanding across the disciplines. People are entering schools and training in areas heretofore identified as the domain of nonblack males. Affirmative action principles have among other things freed fixed minds to perceive that they could achieve in nontraditional areas, and they are succeeding at the new pursuits in constantly increasing numbers.

This larger representation will inevitably reduce the organizational contributions to stress because it will make it impossible for managers to say we can't find qualified blacks. It will require too that they hire in larger numbers removing the stress of select blacks being not only the first but the only black in some organizations.

Dr. Chancellor Williams, author of "The Destruction of Black Civilization," speaks to the importance of blacks achieving equality as a result of the merits of their history, representation and mass contributions. He insists that blacks should not amalgamate. In a situation where you are the only one or one of a very precious few, fighting amalgamation is difficult and most stress oriented. In instances where the numbers of black administrators approach some semblance of parity, there is a more natural unfolding of the realization of the full integration process.

When integration is fully realized, then the contributions of our black forefathers and foremothers will be respected and credited. Black administrators will no longer have to debate the merits of Afro-American Studies or Afro-American History. The organization will instead realize that the historically taught white history and white studies are inadequate and rendering the students who graduate from these sterile programs inadequately educated or "marginally incompetent."

The black administrators in the meantime, in many instances, accept the challenge as a personal responsibility to educate his/her peers to the value of a broad based education, taught and administered by a diverse group of qualified individuals. The absence of a support base or true respect or appreciation for this kind of integration is stress oriented.

The frustrations realized when some blacks foster integration and others amalgamation is stress oriented and the organization must bear some responsibility for this. Black administrators and others who demonstrate competence and leadership in promoting greater appreciation for black history and the contributions of blacks should be rewarded and recognized for their efforts. Instead in some instances they are labeled as "tunnel visioned" or narrow-minded persons. Funds and other resources should be made available to insure that these efforts can be successfully realized. Too, these type efforts should be recognized as legitimate scholarly activities at times of promotion, tenure and salary increases.

In all too many instances, research and activities of special interest, (i.e., blacks, women, etc.), are not recognized as excellent contributions or worthy endeavors.

At the Florida State University the tenure and promotion process begins in the respective departments and moves to the deans of the schools and colleges and finally to a university-wide committee.

At each step there is a set of objective criteria and efforts are constantly being made to insure that evaluations are made based on contractual assignments only. The requirement is that faculty have a percentage of time designated for teaching, research and service, (i.e., 50 percent teaching, 30 percent research, 20 percent service). In other words people are to be evaluated on what they were contracted to do. If a person were given a 25 percent research and 75 percent teaching assignment, then that person should not be evaluated as if she had been contracted for majority research.

Presently, efforts are made to help evaluators appreciate that in years past all scholarly research did not make it into the referee journals. Why is this important? Tenure requirement of publication in referee journals offers no appreciation for the fact that black people experienced discrimination from many referee editors and publishers in the past. Too, because of personal interest and professional need many blacks engaged in research on the concerns of blacks and this research was not the most popular among many editorial review panels. Why is this concern important to the topic regarding competence of black administrators? It is important because when black administrators foster these type processes or practice them, (i.e., specialized research), they are often looked at with suspect and occasionally accused of compromising standards.

Moreover, frustration about promotion and tenure has been increasingly tied to publication and research as the key measures of academic success. In a survey administered to the black faculty at the University of South Florida, all of the black faculty interviewed stated that because they are black and few in number, they are called upon to do a larger proportion of community and committee work than their white colleagues, thus leaving them little time for research and writing. However, when it is time for a review for promotional opportunities that committee work is ignored and only the other accomplishments are looked at. This causes stress, frustration and sometimes defensive behavior which eventually is embraced in the perceptions of others regarding black administrators and their level of competence or expertise.

Black administrators who serve their traditionally expected role also in many instances accept or are held responsible by some blacks to serve as change agents and special support systems for other blacks. Often if they are not perceived by other blacks as living up to special roles they are labeled "Oreos" or other unfavorable terms. The fact that black administrators do an excellent job of what they are contracted to do is not adequate. So they end up working longer, harder, and more aggressively; they are required to be superstars.

Black administrators who happen to be females are faced with the expectations of bearing the burden of several roles. Not only are they expected to fulfill their job description and serve as change agents, but they are expected, in many instances, to bear the responsibility for family maintenance alone and are expected to assume a subordinate role when they leave their place of work. They must also contend, as most working women, with the beliefs of some of their peers, that women's demands for equal rights are a threat to whatever masculinity they have been allowed by the larger society. Some resentment exists, particularly among professional black men, toward what is considered the preferential treatment in jobs for black women who are in some instances used as a "double minority" in affirmative action hiring and promoting. Even though many women administrators are subject to the conscious or unconscious sexist attitudes which create pressures of boss-subordinate-peer interactions, feelings of isolation and the affects it has on opportunities for promotion, comparable salaries and dual roles, black women administrators must also withstand the racial discrimination that black men face.

Although an unhealthy response, persons tend to work much harder when responding to stress. They tend to put in long hours because of what a 1979 U.S. News and World Report article called, "massive fear of failure." Workaholics (as they are called) value themselves according to how much they accomplish. Failing to meet self-imposed goals, receiving unconstructive criticism, being denied a promotion, or wanting a promotion, the workaholic comes to work early and goes home late taking some of his/her work along. So is the case of black administrators who try to cope with these stress-related situations. Organizations must recognize these type circumstances or dilemmas and provide opportunities and support which will eliminate the need for dual roles among black administrators. These organizations must also willingly take on the responsibility of alleviating these "stress-type" situations.

My thesis is that the question raised is not an issue of competence of black administrators, but instead, the issue is when and how effectively will organizations integrate and fully utilize and reward black administrators, or I prefer to say, able administrators who are black.

Until such time as the institutional barriers of blatant or subtle racism and sexism are eradicated, administrators who are black will continue to bear the increased burden of adjusting for the same as they carry out their traditionally contracted responsibility. Harold Baron, author of The Urban Web of Racism, states, "People do not have to exercise a choice to perpetuate a racist or sexist act." The organizational rules and procedures have already prestructured the choice against minorities and women. In many instances an individual only has to conform to the operating norms and values of the organization, and it will do the discriminating for him or her. This idea is supported by Robert Blauner, who wrote Racial Oppression in America. He terms the procedures used to exclude or restrict as conventional, part of the bureaucratic system of rules and regulations. Thus, there is little need for individual prejudice as a motivating force. Well-meaning individuals inadvertently perpetuate an unjust system.

I don't believe that administrators who are black want special standards or tolerance for error as was suggested for discussion by this panel. I believe that what is desired are appropriate standards that are applicable to all persons--standards which are properly devised and free of racist bias. Once this is done, everyone can and should employ standards evenly.

Further, the administrators who are black, and others, cannot only reward fairly but counsel, reprimand and/or dismiss without undue criticism persons who fail to meet the legitimate standards. The absence of these type standards creates again the potential for the organizational contribution to stress in black administrators.

In terms of mental health, racism and sexism, regardless of their forms, are more pervasive and far more serious threats than most realize. Their destructive forces severely cripple the growth and development of millions of Americans regardless of age, race, and sex. In fact a study of Jeanne Spurlock indicates that yearly, these forces directly and indirectly cause more fatalities, disabilities, and economic loss than any other single factor.

Administrators who are black and in some instances superstars are nevertheless human and therefore possess human limitations. Stress, though a necessary aspect of living, nonetheless can be nonproductive and destructive if not addressed by organizations. What is meant by addressed? The deliberate and immediate attention to institutional racism and barriers which impede the full realization of the American ideal--equality and respect for the worth and dignity of all people.

CLOSING REMARKS

ISSUES FACING BLACK ADMINISTRATORS AT PREDOMINANTLY WHITE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Paul E. Gray

Good evening. I hope the past few days have been as stimulating as they have been full. In order to keep the balance of the evening on the stimulating side, my remarks will be brief. I do want to give you some idea, however, of what the national scene for higher education looks like from my vantage point.

Each of us may wonder, particularly in these times, why we choose the paths we do. Why not cash in on the high-tech boom instead of teaching or counseling undergraduate engineers? Why not raise tuition to cover fully our costs, and why not recruit those students whose families can pay? Why not breathe a simple sigh of relief as the grip, occasionally painful and sometimes misplaced, of some regulatory agencies is loosened? Why not work in organizations which welcome rather than question our contributions?

There are no simple answers, of course. But I would venture to say that the choices we make spring from a simple conviction that the values of education are of transcendent importance and that this country - this society - is for all of us; and that we have to work to make equal opportunity an American reality - not just an American dream.

That struggle has never been easy. It is even more difficult in these times. And it is even more important in these times. We have long held that colleges and universities have an obligation to tap and nurture the full range of talent this country has to offer. As long as the powers of knowledge are inaccessible to certain groups of people - for whatever the reason - our universities are not fulfilling their mission, and our society is less than whole.

During the past year and a half, as you know all too well, there have been fundamental shifts in the federal posture regarding funding for programs designed to undergird a basic belief in equal access to, and opportunities for, education in this country. For the past quarter century or more, the federal government has invested in the nation's future through programs of financial aid to students and their families, and, more recently, through educational enrichment programs and institutional development programs.

Today's administration in Washington has a different view of what and how to invest in the future. Take financial aid programs, for example. The attempts by this administration to sharply curtail financial aid programs are clear signals of a very different future with regard to students' access to higher education. Witness the assaults on the Pell grants and on the Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants, or the proposal to eliminate funding for the National Direct Student Loan Program and to sharply reduce funding and eligibility for the most broadly based of all these programs - the Guaranteed Student Loan Program.

Other programs affecting the shape of higher education and, in particular, the opportunities for blacks and other minorities in higher education, have been targeted for similar cutbacks. The administration has proposed to reduce the budget for the TRIO programs which embrace the Disadvantaged Student Program, Talent Search, and Upward Bound. As I know first-hand, that last program is a most successful initiative for encouraging and *preparing* low-income students for entry into college. The record of Upward Bound students amply demonstrates that success breeds success and confidence inspires competence. Bright youngsters grab hold academically and set their sights on new horizons. Graduates of Upward Bound programs can be found as students at, and alumni of, scores of colleges, junior colleges, and universities around the country. What has the administration proposed to do with this success story? It has proposed to cut its funding by two-thirds.

As far as this administration is concerned, these programs are apparently dispensable - and they are not alone in their vulnerability. In addition to programs for individuals, the Title III institutional aid programs designed to help developing academic institutions strengthen their faculty, administrative management, academic programs, research support, and student services also have been targeted for cutbacks. And cuts there mean fewer such colleges will thrive and become stable members of this country's system of higher education. And *that* means fewer opportunities for students.

It seems likely that continuing Congressional action on the budget will modify these proposals, so that the picture - at least for the coming fiscal year - is not as bleak as it appeared to be earlier this spring. Nonetheless, the pressures from the administration are strong and persistent. The trend has been established, and while we may slow the pace, it will be a tough struggle to reverse the direction.

What do these signals portend for the state of higher education? We could find ourselves with a system of higher education in which most students have little choice in schools, being forced by economic circumstances to attend public colleges or universities; a system in which the highly selective, private universities are out of reach of all but a very few; a system in which the quality of private, undergraduate colleges declines as the force of economics pulls the better student away, and in which many privately supported colleges will face crushing economic pressures as enrollments decline.

If this trend is not stopped, many bright, low-income high school students will lower their eyes from distant and promising horizons. Many college students will become discouraged from going on to graduate school, and many who are now in the midst of their studies, graduate and undergraduate, will drop out for financial reasons. Enrollments will shift toward those who can pay their own way. And inevitably, social and economic diversity among college and university students will narrow as educational opportunity becomes tied more closely to economic status. In the long run, the quality of our educational institutions and of our society will suffer. Indeed, I believe that quality is already endangered.

Now, what to do? First, we should remind ourselves that we are *not* powerless to influence the stance and actions of our government. The President may appear to be acting on a popularly expressed mandate to reverse gears on social progress. But I do not believe such a mandate in fact exists. Moreover, I do believe we should maintain confidence in the system of checks and balances which characterizes our federal government. The President proposes. The Congress disposes. And the Congress is closer to home. *And* the Congress is in an election year; all but 70 of the 535 members of Congress must face the voters this November. Not only must we invest ourselves in our vision, we must communicate our vision to those with responsibility for this nation's laws and purse strings. In so doing, I believe we will succeed in making our case and in maintaining progress toward a healthy, just society. It will not be easy. It is surely worth the struggle.

I might add that much as we look to, and rely on, federal mandates and funding to help us toward our goals, we also have to look to ourselves to build and sustain a commitment to equal opportunity within our own institutions. For many people in this room, of course, this has been your life's work. For all of us, the health and strength of our institutions depend on keeping these goals on our agenda and translating them into specific policies and programs.

What are some of the ways in which these goals can be pursued in practical terms? Let me suggest a few:

First, I believe that we must give increased attention to recruitment and opportunities for career development of minorities in faculty and staff positions. Greater consciousness about these aspects of our responsibility is necessary as a counterweight to the forces of constraint which accompany retrenchment. The responsibility to reach out to and encourage men and women of color is the responsibility of everyone - you don't have to match colors to qualify!

Second, the importance of mentoring cannot be overemphasized. The isolation experienced by many - probably most - blacks on white campuses is a real deterrent to their professional development as well as their personal well-being and growth. With relatively few black faculty and staff members in this nation's universities, the white majority must take seriously their responsibility to serve as mentors for junior colleagues - black and white alike. I would add - in the context of mentoring - the need to recognize the contributions which black administrators can, and do, make to fields and issues that are not related to minority concerns. We all can learn from each other.

Third, we must create and maintain adequate mechanisms for minority concerns and complaints to be heard and acted upon. Resource people, forums, and grievance procedures should be visible and well understood, and our means of dealing with problems relating to minority concerns should be both a part of our normal policies and procedures, and sensitive to these particular concerns. At MIT, for example, the senior administration has both encouraged and supported minorities - and women - to form working groups and associations to address issues relevant to their concerns within the institution. I believe this has been useful not only in building individual morale but also in pursuing institutional goals regarding student recruitment and faculty and staff development.

Fourth, while it is important to have staff members with particular responsibility for minority concerns, it is essential that the president and senior officers be willing to talk with and listen to people throughout the institution. Channels of communication and lines of responsibility should not be so rigidly defined that members of the central administration have little feel for people and issues in their own organizations. An attitude of openness and accessibility helps the president and the institution identify important issues and face them squarely.

Fifth, the president and senior officers themselves must assume leadership for the institution's commitment to, and progress in, equal opportunity. They set the pace and style of the institution through their decisions and actions and can make the difference between a strong and progressive institution on the matter of minority concerns and one which is passive or even recalcitrant.

And finally, I would suggest that the governing bodies and advisory committees of our institutions should reflect in their membership the concerns we incorporate in our statements of goals. A board of trustees or a set of visiting committees which bears little or no resemblance to the goal of a richly diverse faculty and student body is not likely to place equality of opportunity high on its agenda for the institution.

I could go on. But I think I've already gone beyond my time. Let me just close by saying that I think this conference is a bold, new step. The energy and ideas and associations which have been generated over the past few days have been extraordinary. And I trust that we leave here with strengthened resolve to building colleges and universities which truly serve an equitable and humane social order.

APPENDIX

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

Thursday, June 24

9:00am-9:00pm	Registration
12noon-2:00pm	National Advisory Committee Meeting
3:00pm-5:00pm	Roundtable discussions by area of work (admissions, academic affairs, student affairs, financial aid, minority affairs, graduate and professional schools, counselors, etc.)
5:30pm-6:30pm	Cocktails
6:30pm-9:00pm	Opening session Dinner Keynote Address

Friday, June 25

9:00am-9:00pm	Registration
9:00am-10:00am	General Plenary Session
10:15am-12:15pm	Concurrent Sessions
12:30pm-2:30pm	Luncheon with Speaker
2:45pm-4:45pm	Concurrent Sessions
6:00pm-7:00pm	Wine and Cheese Reception
8:00pm-10:00pm	Entertainment-Live Concert

Saturday, June 26

9:00am-10:00am	General Plenary Session
10:15am-12:15pm	Concurrent Sessions
12:30pm-2:00pm	Buffet Luncheon (no speaker)
2:30pm-4:30pm	Concurrent Sessions
5:30pm-6:30pm	Cocktails
6:30pm-9:30pm	Banquet Keynote Address
10:00pm-1:30am	Dance with major entertainer

Sunday, June 27

10:00am-12noon	General Plenary Session Resolutions, Conference Wrap-up Closing Remarks
12:15-2:00pm	National Advisory Committee Meeting

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO THE MIT ASSOCIATION OF BLACK ADMINISTRATORS

Dr. John B. Turner, Cochairman
Associate Dean of the Graduate School
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